

Bolshevik Revolution & The Rise and Fall of Soviet Union: Organized Crime?



By William P. Litynski

From the Grassy Knoll in Yekaterinburg, Russia: Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Assassination of Czar Nicholas II of Russia and His Family on July 17, 1918



Czar Nicholas II of Russia and his wife and children pose for a family portrait. Seated left to right: Marie, Queen Alexandra of Russia, Czar Nicholas II of Russia, Anastasia, and Alexei (front); standing left to right: Olga and Tatiana. Czar Nicholas II of Russia and his family were summarily executed by Russian Communists in Yekaterinburg, Russia on July 17, 1918.

Front page photo: Charles Bohlen (left) watches U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union Averell Harriman (center) shake hands with Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin during a meeting at Yalta Conference in February 1945. Averell Harriman was an international banker (partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. in New York City), a member of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1923 to 1986, and a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University.

Bolshevik Revolution: A Faustian Bargain or a Satanic Ritual?

1917: Year of the Snake



Russian Communist terrorist (and suspected German agent) Vladimir Lenin (right, holding an umbrella) takes a stroll in the streets of Stockholm, Sweden on April 13, 1917 [March 31, 1917 Russian [Julian] calendar]. Lenin and his comrades departed Zurich, Switzerland aboard a German boxcar train on April 6, 1917. The Imperial German government escorted Lenin his comrades aboard a “sealed” train from the Swiss-German border to Berlin and later from Berlin to the Baltic Sea. Lenin met with his German “sponsors” (German intelligent agents) in Berlin and apparently received money before returning to Petrograd to establish a Communist regime in Russia. **(According to the Chinese calendar, 1917 was known as “Year of the Snake”).** (Photo: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/marxists/archive/lenin/media/image/1917.htm>)



Bolshevik Revolution: A Foreign Intrigue Sponsored by Wall Street-Federal Reserve Bankers?: Members of the Federal Reserve Board pose for a group portrait in circa 1917. Clockwise, beginning from left: William G. McAdoo (Secretary of the Treasury), John Skelton Williams (Comptroller of the Currency), Adolph C. Miller, Frederic A. Delano, unknown, W.P.G. Harding (Governor of the Federal Reserve), Paul Warburg (Vice Governor of the Federal Reserve), and Charles S. Hamlin. (Photo: Harris & Ewing Collection/Library of Congress)

Frederic A. Delano's nephew Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1920; Frederic A. Delano's father (and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's grandfather) Warren Delano Jr. was a partner of Russell & Company opium syndicate and a wealthy drug dealer.

Paul Warburg was born and raised in Hamburg, Germany. **Paul Warburg's brother Felix Warburg was a Partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., a Jewish banking firm in New York City, in 1917; Paul Warburg's brother Max Warburg was a Jewish banker who owned and operated M.M. Warburg banking firm in Hamburg, Germany in 1917 and collaborated with Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany during World War I.**



General Paul von Hindenburg (left), Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (center), and General Erich Ludendorff review battle plans at the German General Headquarters in 1917. Paul von Hindenburg served as the Chief of the German General Staff from August 29, 1916 until July 3, 1919. The German General Staff proposed the idea of bringing Vladimir Lenin into Russia in an attempt to stir chaos in Russia and end the Russian military presence in the Eastern Front.



Faustian Bargain: Faust makes a pact with the Devil

“Now the **serpent** was more subtil than any beast of the field which the LORD God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die. And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat. And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons. And they heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God amongst the trees of the garden. And the LORD God called unto Adam, and said unto him, Where art thou? And he said, I heard thy voice in the garden, and I was afraid, because I was naked; and I hid myself. And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat? And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat. And the LORD God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, **The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.** And the LORD God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field; upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life: And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel. Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children; and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee. And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return. And Adam called his wife's name Eve; because she was the mother of all living. Unto Adam also and to his wife did the LORD God make coats of skins, and clothed them. And the LORD God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever: Therefore the LORD God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken. So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.”

– Genesis 3:1-24, Old Testament (King James Version (KJV))

The Chinese Zodiac (Calendar)

Year of the Dragon:

1400, 1412, 1424, 1436, 1448, 1460, 1472, 1484, 1496
1508, 1520, 1532, 1544, 1556, 1568, 1580, 1592
1604, 1616, 1628, 1640, 1652, 1664, 1676, 1688
1700, 1712, 1724, 1736, 1748, 1760, 1772, 1784, 1796
1808, 1820, 1832, 1844, 1856, 1868, 1880, 1892
1904, 1916, 1928, 1940, 1952, 1964, 1976, 1988
2000, 2012, 2024, 2036, 2048, 2060, 2072, 2084, 2096

Year of the Snake:

1401, 1413, 1425, 1437, 1449, 1461, 1473, 1485, 1497
1509, 1521, 1533, 1545, 1557, 1569, 1581, 1593
1605, 1617, 1629, 1641, 1653, 1665, 1677, 1689
1701, 1713, 1725, 1737, 1749, 1761, 1773, 1785, 1797
1809, 1821, 1833, 1845, 1857, 1869, 1881, 1893
1905, 1917, 1929, 1941, 1953, 1965, 1977, 1989
2001, 2013, 2025, 2037, 2049, 2061, 2073, 2085, 2097

Year of the Horse:

1402, 1414, 1426, 1438, 1450, 1462, 1474, 1486, 1498
1510, 1522, 1534, 1546, 1558, 1570, 1582, 1594
1606, 1618, 1630, 1642, 1654, 1666, 1678, 1690
1702, 1714, 1726, 1738, 1750, 1762, 1774, 1786, 1798
1810, 1822, 1834, 1846, 1858, 1870, 1882, 1894
1906, 1918, 1930, 1942, 1954, 1966, 1978, 1990
2002, 2014, 2026, 2038, 2050, 2062, 2074, 2086, 2098

Year of the Goat:

1403, 1415, 1427, 1439, 1451, 1463, 1475, 1487, 1499
1511, 1523, 1535, 1547, 1559, 1571, 1583, 1595
1607, 1619, 1631, 1643, 1655, 1667, 1679, 1691
1703, 1715, 1727, 1739, 1751, 1763, 1775, 1787, 1799
1811, 1823, 1835, 1847, 1859, 1871, 1883, 1895
1907, 1919, 1931, 1943, 1955, 1967, 1979, 1991
2003, 2015, 2027, 2039, 2051, 2063, 2075, 2087, 2099

Year of the Monkey:

1404, 1416, 1428, 1440, 1452, 1464, 1476, 1488
1500, 1512, 1524, 1536, 1548, 1560, 1572, 1584, 1596
1608, 1620, 1632, 1644, 1656, 1668, 1680, 1692
1704, 1716, 1728, 1740, 1752, 1764, 1776, 1788
1800, 1812, 1824, 1836, 1848, 1860, 1872, 1884, 1896
1908, 1920, 1932, 1944, 1956, 1968, 1980, 1992
2004, 2016, 2028, 2040, 2052, 2064, 2076, 2088

Year of the Rooster:

1405, 1417, 1429, 1441, 1453, 1465, 1477, 1489
1501, 1513, 1525, 1537, 1549, 1561, 1573, 1585, 1597
1609, 1621, 1633, 1645, 1657, 1669, 1681, 1693
1705, 1717, 1729, 1741, 1753, 1765, 1777, 1789
1801, 1813, 1825, 1837, 1849, 1861, 1873, 1885, 1897
1909, 1921, 1933, 1945, 1957, 1969, 1981, 1993
2005, 2017, 2029, 2041, 2053, 2065, 2077, 2089

Year of the Dog:

1406, 1418, 1430, 1442, 1454, 1466, 1478, 1490
1502, 1514, 1526, 1538, 1550, 1562, 1574, 1586, 1598
1610, 1622, 1634, 1646, 1658, 1670, 1682, 1694
1706, 1718, 1730, 1742, 1754, 1766, 1778, 1790
1802, 1814, 1826, 1838, 1850, 1862, 1874, 1886, 1898
1910, 1922, 1934, 1946, 1958, 1970, 1982, 1994
2006, 2018, 2030, 2042, 2054, 2066, 2078, 2090

Year of the Pig:

1407, 1419, 1431, 1443, 1455, 1467, 1479, 1491
1503, 1515, 1527, 1539, 1551, 1563, 1575, 1587, 1599
1611, 1623, 1635, 1647, 1659, 1671, 1683, 1695
1707, 1719, 1731, 1743, 1755, 1767, 1779, 1791
1803, 1815, 1827, 1839, 1851, 1863, 1875, 1887, 1899
1911, 1923, 1935, 1947, 1959, 1971, 1983, 1995
2007, 2019, 2031, 2043, 2055, 2067, 2079, 2091

Year of the Rat:

1408, 1420, 1432, 1444, 1456, 1468, 1480, 1492
1504, 1516, 1528, 1540, 1552, 1564, 1576, 1588
1600, 1612, 1624, 1636, 1648, 1660, 1672, 1684, 1696
1708, 1720, 1732, 1744, 1756, 1768, 1780, 1792
1804, 1816, 1828, 1840, 1852, 1864, 1876, 1888
1900, 1912, 1924, 1936, 1948, 1960, 1972, 1984, 1996
2008, 2020, 2032, 2044, 2056, 2068, 2080, 2092

Year of the Ox (Bull):

1409, 1421, 1433, 1445, 1457, 1469, 1481, 1493
1505, 1517, 1529, 1541, 1553, 1565, 1577, 1589
1601, 1613, 1625, 1637, 1649, 1661, 1673, 1685, 1697
1709, 1721, 1733, 1745, 1757, 1769, 1781, 1793
1805, 1817, 1829, 1841, 1853, 1865, 1877, 1889
1901, 1913, 1925, 1937, 1949, 1961, 1973, 1985, 1997
2009, 2021, 2033, 2045, 2057, 2069, 2081, 2093

Year of the Tiger:

1410, 1422, 1434, 1446, 1458, 1470, 1482, 1494
1506, 1518, 1530, 1542, 1554, 1566, 1578, 1590
1602, 1614, 1626, 1638, 1650, 1662, 1674, 1686, 1698
1710, 1722, 1734, 1746, 1758, 1770, 1782, 1794
1806, 1818, 1830, 1842, 1854, 1866, 1878, 1890
1902, 1914, 1926, 1938, 1950, 1962, 1974, 1986, 1998
2010, 2022, 2034, 2046, 2058, 2070, 2082, 2094

Year of the Rabbit:

1411, 1423, 1435, 1447, 1459, 1471, 1483, 1495
1507, 1519, 1531, 1543, 1555, 1567, 1579, 1591
1603, 1615, 1627, 1639, 1651, 1663, 1675, 1687, 1699
1711, 1723, 1735, 1747, 1759, 1771, 1783, 1795
1807, 1819, 1831, 1843, 1855, 1867, 1879, 1891
1903, 1915, 1927, 1939, 1951, 1963, 1975, 1987, 1999
2011, 2023, 2035, 2047, 2059, 2071, 2083, 2095

Major Historical Events in the Year of the Snake

January 16, 27 B.C.: Roman Empire is established; Augustus Caesar becomes the first Emperor of the Roman Empire

August 9, 117 A.D.: Death of Trajan, Emperor of the Roman Empire

August 23, 1305: The Conviction and Execution of Scottish rebel William Wallace in London for High Treason

June 28, 1389: Ottoman Turkish Muslim army attacks the Serbian Christian army at the Battle of Kosovo.

August 22, 1485: King Richard III of England is killed in action at the Battle of Bosworth Field in England.

May 25, 1521: Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, issued the Edict of Worms declaring Martin Luther a heretic.

August 1521: Battle of Tenochtitlan and the Fall of the Aztec Empire [present-day Mexico]

November 5, 1605: Gunpowder Plot in London (Guy Fawkes)

October 1641: The Irish Rebellion of 1641

February 13, 1689: Ascension of King William III of England and his wife Queen Mary II of England

January 18, 1701: Establishment of the Kingdom of Prussia

1701: Establishment of Yale University in Connecticut

February 8, 1725: Death of Czar Peter I of Russia (Peter the Great) in St. Petersburg, Russia

December 16, 1773: Boston Tea Party

October 18, 1797: The Fall of The Most Serene Republic of Venice

March 25, 1821: Beginning of the Greek War of Independence

May 5, 1821: Death of Napoleon Bonaparte

September 27, 1821: Conclusion of the Mexican War of Independence

1821: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel's book *Elements of the Philosophy of Right* is published in Berlin

1833: Establishment of Skull and Bones, a Satanic secret society at Yale University

March 3, 1845: Florida became a State within the United States of America

December 29, 1845: Annexation of Texas

March 6, 1857: *Dred Scott v. Sanford* case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court

1869: Establishment of the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, Japan

March 13, 1881: Assassination of Czar Alexander II of Russia in St. Petersburg, Russia

July 2, 1881: Assassination of U.S. President James A. Garfield

January 17, 1893: Abdication (overthrow) of Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii

October 28, 1893: Assassination of Mayor of Chicago Carter Henry Harrison Sr.

May 27-28, 1905: Imperial Japanese Navy defeats the Russian Navy at the Battle of Tsushima

January 22, 1905: Bloody Sunday Massacre in St. Petersburg, Russia

July 1905: Taft-Katsura Agreement is established, leading to the Japanese colonization of Korea

September 5, 1905: Signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth (peace treaty ending Russo-Japanese War) by Japan and Russia

March 15, 1917: Abdication of Czar Nicholas II of Russia

November 2, 1917: British politician Arthur Balfour writes a letter to Lord Rothschild, later known as "Balfour Declaration"

November 7, 1917: Beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution (October Revolution) in Russia

December 11, 1917: British Field Marshal Edmund Allenby's grand entrance into Jerusalem

June 14, 1929: Young Plan (German war reparations payment plan) is finalized at Paris, France

October 3, 1929: Death of German Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann

October 28-29, 1929: Stock Market Crash in New York City and Beginning of the Great Depression

June 4, 1941: Death of Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany

June 22, 1941: Nazi German Invasion of the Soviet Union (Operation Barbarossa)

August 25, 1941-September 17, 1941: Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran (Operation Countenance)

December 7, 1941: Imperial Japanese Navy attack on Pearl Harbor (Hawaii)

March 5, 1953: Death of Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin

July 27, 1953: Korean War Armistice

August 19, 1953: Overthrow (Coup d'état) of Iran's Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadegh

January 24, 1965: Death of former Prime Minister of Great Britain Sir Winston Churchill

November 11, 1965: Rhodesia's Prime Minister Ian Smith declares a "Unilateral Declaration of Independence" from Great Britain

January 7, 1989: Death of Emperor Hirohito of Japan

June 3, 1989: Death of Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini (Supreme Leader of Iran)

June 4, 1989: Tiananmen Square Massacre in Beijing, Communist China

November 9, 1989: Fall of the Berlin Wall

September 11, 2001: 9/11 Tragedy in New York City (World Trade Center) and Washington, D.C. (Pentagon)

Communism: A Satanic-Jewish Conspiracy?

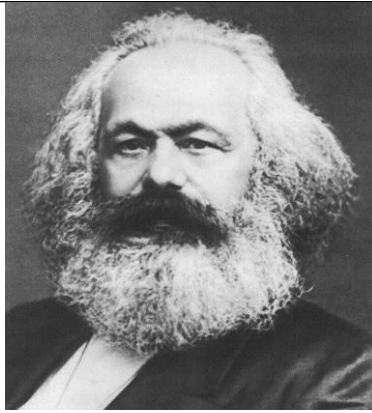


Lev Davidovich Bronstein

[Leon Trotsky]

(November 7, 1879-August 21, 1940)

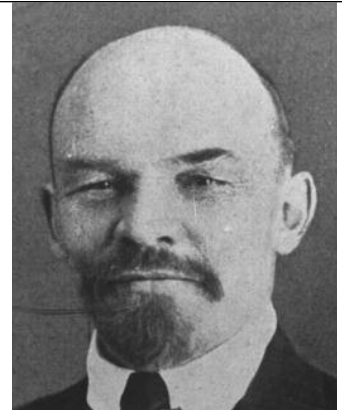
Soviet Commissar of War (1919-1925)



Dr. Karl Heinrich Marx, Ph.D.

(May 5, 1818-March 14, 1883)

Co-author of *Communist Manifesto*;
received a Ph.D. at Univ. of Berlin in 1841



Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov

[Vladimir "Nikolai" Lenin]

(April 22, 1870-January 21, 1924)

First Commissar of Soviet Union (1917-1924)



12. Trotzky, Lev

Kamenev, Lev

Lenin, Nikolai

From Russia With Love: Russian Jewish terrorists Leon Trotsky (left), Vladimir Lenin (center), and Lev Kamenev appear at the second Communist Party Congress in 1919. (Photo: [New York Public Library](#))

Russian Revolutionary Mikhail Bakunin's Description of Karl Marx: In His Own Words



Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876)

“Marx is a Jew and is surrounded by a crowd of little, more or less intelligent, scheming, agile, speculating Jews, just as Jews are everywhere -- commercial and banking agents, writers, politicians, correspondents for newspapers of all shades; in short, literary brokers, just as they are financial brokers, with one foot in the bank and the other in the socialist movement, and their arses sitting upon the German press. They have grabbed hold of all newspapers, and you can imagine what a nauseating literature is the outcome of it...Now this entire Jewish world, which constitutes an exploiting sect, a people of leeches, a voracious parasite, closely and intimately connected with another, regardless not only of frontiers but of political differences as well -- this Jewish world is today largely at the disposal of Marx or Rothschild. I am sure that, on the one hand, the Rothschilds appreciate the merits of Marx, and that on the other hand, Marx feels an instinctive inclination and a great respect for the Rothschilds. This may seem strange. What could there be in common between communism and high finance? Ho ho! The communism of Marx seeks a strong state centralization, and where this exists, there the parasitic Jewish nation -- which speculates upon the labor of people -- will always find the means for its existence...In reality, this would be for the proletariat a barrack-regime, under which the workingmen and the workingwomen, converted into a uniform mass, would rise, fall asleep, work, and live at the beat of the drum. The privilege of ruling would be in the hands of the skilled and the learned, with a wide scope left for profitable crooked deals carried on by the Jews, who would be attracted by the enormous extension of the international speculations of the national banks...”

– Michael Bakunin, *Polemique contre les Juifs (Polemic against the Jews)*, 1872

Vladimir Lenin Was Part-Jewish, Says Declassified KGB Files

By Emmanuel Grynspan / Le Temps / Worldcrunch

June 14, 2011

This post is in partnership with [Worldcrunch](#), a new global - news site that translates stories of note in foreign languages into English. The article below was originally published in [Le Temps](#).

(MOSCOW) - A recently opened exhibition in Moscow's State Historical Museum is shedding some light on a long-guarded Russian secret: the origins of Soviet founding father Vladimir Lenin. Lenin's maternal grandfather, the exhibition revealed, was born Jewish.

This fascinating morsel of information, gleaned from declassified KGB files, is not a minor detail in a country where anti-Semitism was a recognized state doctrine for decades. Starting in the 1930s, the Soviet regime - spurred on by its leader Joseph Stalin - launched a violent discriminatory campaign against Jewish citizens. ([See the Top 25 Political Icons: Lenin](#))

Born in 1870, Lenin identified himself simply as "Russian." His official biography only mentions his Russian, German and Swedish origins. But one of the exhibition's priceless pieces adds a key new element to the official narrative.

In a letter written to Stalin in 1932 - six years after Lenin's death - Anna Ulyanova, Lenin's older sister, wrote that their maternal grandfather "came from a poor Jewish family and was, according to his baptismal certificate, the son of Moses Blank." Blank was born in Zhitomir, Ukraine. In her letter, Anna Ulyanova said her brother "had always thought highly of Jews." She also urged Stalin to reveal Lenin's Jewish background, concluding that "it would be wrong to hide it from the masses."

Stalin, however, ordered Anna Ulyanova to keep Lenin's Jewish roots under wraps. A few years later Stalin began to purge Jews from among the leaders of the Russian revolution. Prior to his death in 1953, furthermore, he was preparing to send the whole Jewish population living in the Soviet Union to concentration camps in Siberia.

Most provincial Russian towns have a main road named "Lenin Street." You can usually find shops selling luxury goods and banking centers there. They tend to contain all the flashiest symbols of the country's now capitalist society. ([See TIME's photoessay: The Bolshevik October Revolution](#))

In the middle of virtually every central square, including in Belarus and in Ukraine, there is a high-rise statue of Lenin looking down on the rowdy shopkeepers. The Lenin paradox even goes further. Lenin is revered by Russia's radical fringe - people who feel nostalgic for the Soviet regime in general, and for anti-Semitic Stalinism in particular.

The "Cult of Lenin" has its physical focal point in Moscow's Red Square, where Lenin's mummified body is on permanent display in a mausoleum. In the past, Soviet citizens were expected to carry out pilgrimages to the Communist leader's resting place. ([Photos: Aleksander Solzhenitsyn 1918 \[EM\] 2008](#))

Lenin's legacy is the subject of debate. Some Russian Communists want Lenin's cult to endure forever. But there are Russian Orthodox Christians who loathe Lenin because he destroyed Tsarism and because he turned atheism into a cornerstone of the official ideology. The latter, like many ordinary Russian people, want the man to be buried - with or without the honors reserved for a statesman.

Russians who began their working lives after the fall of the communist system often see things in the same ambivalent way. "Soviet children almost regarded Grandfather Lenin as Santa Claus," says Daria Beliaeva, a thirty-year-old financial analyst who looks back at the Soviet era with nostalgia. "But later, I heard that the Germans sent him to Russia in an armored train to trigger the Russian revolution. I also heard that he ordered the destruction of about 100 churches," the practicing Orthodox adds disapprovingly.

Daria wasn't particularly moved one way or the other when she heard the Soviet idol had Jewish roots. "He had elements of good and evil in him. He put his mark on Russian history. Now, he needs to be buried."

Political expert Boris Kagarlitski, a former dissident and proud Leninist, says "the Russian authorities are using the debate about Lenin's Jewish background and about his burial as a pretext for taking people's mind off the real problems and issues facing our society."

Even if latent anti-Semitism does not play an active role in contemporary Russian politics, the Lenin exhibition could end up cutting into the famed revolutionary's enduring popularity. It might also convince authorities to once and for all put his embalmed body to rest.

Source: http://news.yahoo.com/s/time/20110614/wl_time/08599207741300



A Joint Distribution Committee meeting takes place on August 16, 1918. Jews of the United States of America who have distributed twelve million dollars of the relief moneys raised by American Jewry since the beginning of World War I. **Jacob Schiff**, philanthropist, international banker and one of the founders of the American Jewish Historical Society, appears in the lower right corner.

Seated from left to right are: **Felix M. Warburg**, of Kuhn Loeb & Co., Chairman of the Committee; Rabbi Aaron Teitelbaum, Corresponding Secretary of the Joint Distribution Committee; Mrs. F. Friedman, official stenographer; Dr. Boris D. Bogen, organizer of the branch of the Committee in Holland and a director of the National Conference of Charities; Leon Sanders, President of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham; Harry Fishcel, Treasurer of the Central Relief Committee; Sholem Asch, noted Yiddish writer and Vice Chairman of People's Relief Committee; Alexander Kahn, Chairman of the People's Relief Committee; Jacob Milch; Miss Harriet Lowenstein, woman lawyer and Comptroller of Joint Distribution Committee; Colonel Moses Schonenberg; Rabbi M.Z. Margolies, President of the Agudas Habonim; Israel Friedlander, Jewish Theological Seminary of NY; Paul Baerwald, Associate Treasurer of the Committee; Julius Levy; Peter Wiernik, Chairman of the Central Relief Committee and editor of the Jewish Morning Journal; Meyer Gillis, assistant editor of Forward; Colonel Harry Cutler, Chairman of the Jewish Welfare Board; Cyrus Adler, President of Dropsy College and the Jewish Theological Seminary; Arthur Lehman, Treasurer of the Committee and member of Lehman Bros.

Standing from left to right: Abraham Zucker, People's Relief Committee; Isadore Hershfield, who established communication between Jewish families in Europe and America; Rabbi Meyer Berlin, Vice President of the Central Relief Committee; Stanley Bero, Central Relief Committee; Louis Topkis; Morris Engelman, financial secretary of the Central Relief Committee and originator of the plan for American Relief for the Jewish War Sufferers. (Photo: American Jewish Historical Society/ http://www.flickr.com/photos/center_for_jewish_history/3420953499/)

Nationalisation of the Banks

The banks, as we know, are centres of modern economic life, the principal nerve centres of the whole capitalist economic system. To talk about "regulating economic life" and yet evade the question of the nationalisation of the banks means either betraying the most profound ignorance or deceiving the "common people" by florid words and grandiloquent promises with the deliberate intention of not fulfilling these promises.

It is absurd to control and regulate deliveries of grain, or the production and distribution of goods generally, without controlling and regulating bank operations. It is like trying to snatch at odd kopeks and closing one's eyes to millions of rubles. Banks nowadays are so closely and intimately bound up with trade (in grain and everything else) and with industry that without "laying hands" on the banks nothing of any value, nothing "revolutionary-democratic", can be accomplished.

But perhaps for the state to "lay hands" on the banks is a very difficult and complicated operation? They usually try to scare philistines with this very idea—that is, the capitalists and their defenders try it, because it is to their advantage to do so.

In reality, however, nationalisation of the banks, which would not deprive any "owner" of a single kopek, presents absolutely no technical or cultural difficulties, and is being delayed exclusively because of the vile greed of an insignificant handful of rich people. If nationalisation of the banks is so often confused with the confiscation of private property, it is the bourgeois press, which has an interest in deceiving the public, that is to blame for this widespread confusion.

The ownership of the capital wielded by and concentrated in the banks is certified by printed and written certificates called shares, bonds, bills, receipts, etc. Not a single one of these certificates would be invalidated or altered if the banks were nationalised, i.e., if all the banks were amalgamated into a single state bank. Whoever owned fifteen rubles on a savings account would continue to be the owner of fifteen rubles after the nationalisation of the banks; and whoever had fifteen million rubles would continue after the nationalisation of the banks to have fifteen million rubles in the form of shares, bonds, bills, commercial certificates and so on.

What, then, is the significance of nationalisation of the banks?

It is that no effective control of any kind over the individual banks and their operations is possible (even if commercial secrecy, etc., were abolished) because it is impossible to keep track of the extremely complex, involved and wily tricks that are used in drawing up balance sheets, founding fictitious enterprises and subsidiaries, enlisting the services of figureheads, and so on, and so forth. Only the amalgamation of all banks into one, which in itself would imply no change whatever in respect of ownership, and which, we repeat, would not deprive any owner of a single kopek, would make it possible to exercise real control—provided, of course, all the other measures indicated above were carried out. Only by nationalising the banks can the state put itself in a position to know where and how, whence and when, millions and billions of rubles flow. And only control over the banks, over the centre, over the pivot and chief mechanism of capitalist circulation, would make it possible to organise real and not fictitious control over all economic life, over the production and distribution of staple goods, and organise that "regulation of economic life" which otherwise is inevitably doomed to remain a ministerial phrase designed to fool the common people. Only control over banking operations, provided they were concentrated in a single state bank, would make it possible, if certain other easily-practicable measures were adopted, to organise the effective collection of income tax in such a way as to prevent the concealment of property and incomes; for at present the income tax is very largely a fiction.

Nationalisation of the banks has only to be decreed and it would be carried out by the directors and employees themselves. No special machinery, no special preparatory steps on the part of the state would be required, for this is a measure that can be effected by a single decree, "at a single stroke". It was made economically feasible by capitalism itself once it had developed to the stage of bills, shares, bonds and so on. All that is required is to *unify accountancy*. And if the revolutionary-democratic government were to decide that immediately, by telegraph, meetings of managers and employees should be called in every city, and conferences in every region and in the country as a whole, for the immediate amalgamation of all banks into a single state bank, this reform would be carried out in a few weeks. Of course, it would be the managers and the higher bank officials who would offer resistance, who would try to deceive the state, delay matters, and so on, for these gentlemen would lose their highly remunerative posts and the opportunity of performing highly profitable fraudulent operations. *That is the heart of the matter*. But there is not the slightest technical difficulty in the way of the amalgamation of the banks; and if the state power were revolutionary not only in word (i.e., if it did not fear to do away with inertia and routine), if it were democratic not only in word (i.e., if it acted in the interests of the majority of the people and not of a handful of rich men), it would be enough to decree

confiscation of property and imprisonment as the penalty for managers, board members and big shareholders for the slightest delay or for attempting to conceal documents and accounts. It would be enough, for example, to organise the poorer employees *separately* and to reward them for detecting fraud and delay on the part of the rich for nationalisation of the banks to be effected as smoothly and rapidly as can be.

The advantages accruing to the whole people from nationalisation of the banks—not to the workers especially (for the workers have little to do with banks) but to the mass of peasants and small industrialists—would be enormous. The saving in labour would be gigantic, and, assuming that the state would retain the former number of bank employees, nationalisation would be a highly important step towards making the use of the banks universal, towards increasing the number of their branches, putting their operations within easier reach, etc., etc. The availability of credit on easy terms for the *small* owners, for the peasants, would increase immensely. As to the state, it would for the first time be in a position first to *review* all the chief monetary operations, which would be unconcealed, then to *control* them, then to *regulate* economic life, and finally to *obtain* millions and billions for major state transactions, without paying the capitalist gentlemen sky-high “commissions” for their “services”. That is the reason—and the only reason—why all the capitalists, all the bourgeois professors, all the bourgeoisie, and all the Plekhanovs, Potresovs and Co., who serve them, are prepared to fight tooth and nail against nationalisation of the banks and invent thousands of excuses to prevent the adoption of this very easy and very pressing measure, although even from the standpoint of the “defence” of the country, i.e., from the military standpoint, this measure would provide a gigantic advantage and would tremendously enhance the “military might” of the country.

The following objection might be raised: why do such advanced states as Germany and the U.S.A. “regulate economic life” so magnificently without even thinking of nationalising the banks?

Because, we reply, *both* these states are not merely capitalist, but also imperialist states, although one of them is a monarchy and the other a republic. As such, they carry out the reforms they need by reactionary-bureaucratic methods, whereas we are speaking here of revolutionary-democratic methods.

This “little difference” is of major importance. In most cases it is “not the custom” to think of it. The term “revolutionary democracy” has become with us (especially among the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks) almost a conventional phrase, like the expression “thank God”, which is also used by people who are not so ignorant as to believe in God; or like the expression “honourable citizen”, which is sometimes used even in addressing staff members of *Dyen* or *Yedinstvo*, although nearly everybody guesses that these newspapers have been founded and are maintained by the capitalists in the interests of the capitalists, and that there is therefore very little “honourable” about the pseudo-socialists contributing to these newspapers.

If we do not employ the phrase “revolutionary democracy” as a stereotyped ceremonial phrase, as a conventional epithet, but *reflect* on its meaning, we find that to be a democrat means reckoning in reality with the interests of the majority of the people and not the minority, and that to be a revolutionary means destroying everything harmful and obsolete in the most resolute and ruthless manner.

Neither in America nor in Germany, as far as we know, is any claim laid by either the government or the ruling classes to the name “revolutionary democrats”, to which our Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks lay claim (and which they prostitute).

In Germany there are only four very large private banks of national importance. In America there are only *two*. It is easier, more convenient, more profitable for the financial magnates of those banks to unite privately, surreptitiously, in a reactionary and not a revolutionary way, in a bureaucratic and not a democratic way, bribing government officials (this is the general rule both in America *and* in Germany), and preserving the private character of the banks in order to preserve secrecy of operations, to milk the state of millions upon millions in “super-profits”, and to make financial frauds possible.

Both America and Germany “regulate economic life” in such a way as to create conditions of *war-time penal servitude* for the workers (and partly for the peasants) and a *paradise* for the bankers and capitalists. Their regulation consists in “squeezing” the workers to the point of starvation, while the capitalists are guaranteed (surreptitiously, in a reactionary-bureaucratic fashion) profits *higher* than before the war.

Such a course is quite possible in republican-imperialist Russia too. Indeed, it is the course being followed not only by the Milyukovs and Shingaryovs, but also by Kerensky in partnership with Tereshchenko, Nekrasov, Bernatsky, Prokopovich and Co., who *also uphold*, in a reactionary-bureaucratic manner, the “inviolability” of the banks and their sacred right to fabulous profits. So let us better tell the *truth*, namely, that in republican Russia they want to regulate economic life in a reactionary-bureaucratic manner, but “often” find it difficult to do so owing to the existence of the “Soviets”, which Kornilov No. 1 did not manage to disband, but which Kornilov No. 2 will try to disband.

That would be the truth. And this simple if bitter truth is more useful for the enlightenment of the people than the honeyed lies about “our”, “great”, “revolutionary” democracy.

* * *

Nationalisation of the banks would greatly facilitate the simultaneous nationalisation of the insurance business, i.e., the amalgamation of all the insurance companies into one, the centralisation of their operations, and state control over them. Here, too, congresses of insurance company employees could carry out this amalgamation immediately and without any great effort, provided a revolutionary-democratic government decreed this and ordered directors and big shareholders to effect the amalgamation without the slightest delay and held every one of them strictly accountable for it. The capitalists have invested hundreds of millions of rubles in the insurance business; the work is all done by the employees. The amalgamation of this business would lead to lower insurance premiums, would provide a host of facilities and conveniences for the insured and would make it possible to increase their number without increasing expenditure of effort and funds. Absolutely nothing but the inertia, routine and self-interest of a handful of holders of remunerative jobs are delaying this reform, which, among other things, would enhance the country's defence potential by economising national labour and creating a number of highly important opportunities to "regulate economic life" not in word, but in deed.

Source: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1917/ichtci/04.htm>

“The byzantine financial intrigues of the early 1900s bound Jewish bankers tightly to the state. The diatribes against Jewish bankers actually stood reality on its head, for they didn’t exploit Germany so much as serve its imperial escapades to a fault. This very intimacy with the government would make it hard for them to react later on when persecution and terror came from the state itself. The Kuhn, Loeb connection also implicated M.M. Warburg in more political work. Outraged by the pogroms against Russian Jews, [Jacob] Schiff made it a point of honor to finance Japan in its 1904-05 war against Russia and even paid for distribution of anti-czarist propaganda to Russian prisoners. In spring 1904, he shocked Japan’s financial commissioner, Baron Korekiyo Takahashi, by volunteering to underwrite half the ten-million-pound loan sought by the Imperial Japanese Government in London and New York. This first of five major Kuhn, Loeb loans to Japan was approved by King Edward VII at a luncheon with Schiff and Sir Ernest Cassel. When Japan was ready for a third loan in 1905, Schiff thought New York was saturated with Japanese bonds and asked Max [Warburg] to open a German market. To ensure that such a step conformed to German policy, Max remembered, “I did what every upstanding banker has to do in such case, I went to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin.” The Krupp firm had warned the Foreign Office that Germany would lose munitions contracts if the third Japanese loan were placed entirely in New York and London. So Under-Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann endorsed the move and authorized Max to negotiate with Japan. Before proceeding with his second Japanese loan, Max met the Kaiser aboard his yacht to get his official imprimatur. This second issue was ten times oversubscribed, strengthening Japan’s hand at the Portsmouth peace conference. That Max suddenly managed a major strategic transaction was a stunning achievement for a firm that just a few years earlier had been a provincial power. Max owed this breakthrough to his brothers’ presence at Kuhn, Loeb, but he had ably exploited the opportunity. He negotiated the first loan in London with Korekiyo Takahashi, later Japanese finance minister and prime minister. Takahashi never forgot the favor, later telling Max, if “I have distinguished myself in any way in my life, it is, to my great appreciation, due to your goodwill and friendship which you were kind enough to extend to me in old times.” After the war with Russia, Takahashi visited Hamburg, and in 1906 [Jacob] Schiff visited Japan. Schiff had a rare private lunch with the Mikado at the Imperial Palace, where he was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun. At one dinner, he sat beside Takahashi’s teenage daughter, Wakiko, and casually invited her to New York, but Takahashi took the invitation quite literally. To Schiff’s astonishment, Wakiko ended up going back with him and living with the Schiffs for three years.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 110-111

“Because the House of Mitsui, an ancient Japanese dynasty, had opened a Hamburg branch, family members periodically dropped in on the Warburgs. Once Baron Mitsui came to dinner and, as he rambled on about labor relations in Japanese, Max mischievously learned over and whispered to Charlotte that the baron wanted to know if Max’s son, Eric, would marry his daughter. On another visit, Baron Mitsui and his partner, Takuma Dan, asked how the Warburgs kept peace in the family. They told Max and Carl Melchior about battles inside the Mitsui clan and asked how to stop them. Max replied that the Warburgs quarreled as much as any family. He and Melchior suggested that Mitsui divide its operations into separate banking, shipping, insurance, and export companies, each supervised by a different family member who then reported to a central firm. In this way, Max took credit for suggesting to the Japanese the *zaibatsu* or conglomerate structure that would dominate their economy. In gratitude, Mitsui sent Max a wax Japanese general in a casket.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 111

“The influence of these Jewish bankers grew in tandem with the prosperity of America. Just as Wall Street took over from London as the world’s banker in the early twentieth century, so American Jews assumed responsibility from the Rothschilds and other European Jews for suffering Jews everywhere. The watershed event was probably the Kishinev pogrom of April 1903, in which the czarist government conspired. This massacre – ruled by blind mob fury – by the Romanian border near the Black Sea left forty-five Jews dead, more than five hundred injured, and two thousand families homeless. These numbers terrified a Jewish community whose senses weren’t yet dulled by the unutterable horror of the Holocaust. From a selfish standpoint, American Jews feared that the massacre might stimulate an unwanted flood of destitute Russian Jewish immigrants to the United States, with an attendant backlash. Jacob Schiff mobilized the American Jewish Community and got President Theodore Roosevelt to protest to Russia, which was Schiff’s implacable foe. He unashamedly used his financial influence to thwart the czar at every turn. As he boasted to Lord Rothschild in 1904, “I pride myself that all the efforts, which at various times during the past four or five years have been made by Russia to gain the favor of the American market for its loans, I have been able to bring to naught.” At one point, Schiff pressed Teddy Roosevelt to conduct a Rough Rider assault, patterned after the American invasion of Cuba, against Russia. In 1905, another set of deadly pogroms left two thousand Russian Jews dead, injured, or homeless. This led Jacob Schiff, Cyrus Adler, and others to create the American Jewish Committee a year later. It was the first group to coordinate the action of American Jews and the first American organization to support Jews worldwide. Drawn predominantly from the German-Jewish grandees, it reflected their stress upon assimilation and American patriotism instead of worldwide Zionist loyalty or anything that might smack of radicalism or “dual loyalty.” Inevitably, they were accused by poor Jews of being latter-day “Court Jews,” who wished to curry favor with the non-Jewish world. Schiff and other Jewish merchant princes felt alarmed by Zionism because it claimed a universal Jewish loyalty while they were strenuously asserting their primary loyalty to America. They saw no necessary incompatibility in being both patriotic citizens and pious Jews... Though not a Zionist, Schiff supported many projects in Palestine, including the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station and the Hebrew Technical Institute in Haifa. He and Felix Warburg would regard Palestine as a spiritual home for Judaism rather than a future nation-state, but would be no less active or involved for all that. In 1906, Schiff warned in *The New York Times*, “It is quite evident that there is a serious break coming between those who wish to force the formation of a distinct Hebraic element in the United States, as distinct from those of us who desire to be American in attachment, thought and action...” Indeed, the break would be deep, bitter, and protracted.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 100-101

ZIONISM versus BOLSHEVISM: A Struggle for the Soul of the Jewish People

By the Rt. Hon. Winston S. Churchill [Prime Minister of Great Britain during World War II]

ILLUSTRATED SUNDAY HERALD, London, February 8, 1920.

SOME people like Jews and some do not; but no thoughtful man can doubt the fact that they are beyond all question the most formidable and the most remarkable race which has ever appeared in the world.

Disraeli, the Jew Prime Minister of England, and Leader of the Conservative Party, who was always true to his race and proud of his origin, said on a well-known occasion: "The Lord deals with the nations as the nations deal with the Jews." Certainly when we look at the miserable state of Russia, where of all countries in the world the Jews were the most cruelly treated, and contrast it with the fortunes of our own country, which seems to have been so providentially preserved amid the awful perils of these times, we must admit that nothing that has since happened in the history of the world has falsified the truth of Disraeli's confident assertion.

Good and Bad Jews

The conflict between good and evil which proceeds unceasingly in the breast of man nowhere reaches such an intensity as in the Jewish race. The dual nature of mankind is nowhere more strongly or more terribly exemplified. We owe to the Jews in the Christian revelation a system of ethics which, even if it were entirely separated from the supernatural, would be incomparably the most precious possession of mankind, worth in fact the fruits of all other wisdom and learning put together. On that system and by that faith there has been built out of the wreck of the Roman Empire the whole of our existing civilization.

And it may well be that this same astounding race may at the present time be in the actual process of producing another system of morals and philosophy, as malevolent as Christianity was benevolent, which, if not arrested, would shatter irretrievably all that Christianity has rendered possible. It would almost seem as if the gospel of Christ and the gospel of Antichrist were destined to originate among the same people; and that this mystic and mysterious race had been chosen for the supreme manifestations, both of the divine and the diabolical.

'National' Jews

There can be no greater mistake than to attribute to each individual a recognizable share in the qualities which make up the national character. There are all sorts of men -- good, bad and, for the most part, indifferent -- in every country, and in every race. Nothing is more wrong than to deny to an individual, on account of race or origin, his right to be judged on his personal merits and conduct. In a people of peculiar genius like the Jews, contrasts are more vivid, the extremes are more widely separated, the resulting consequences are more decisive.

At the present fateful period there are three main lines of political conception among the Jews. two of which are helpful and hopeful in a very high degree to humanity, and the third absolutely destructive.

First there are the Jews who, dwelling in every country throughout the world, identify themselves with that country, enter into its national life and, while adhering faithfully to their own religion, regard themselves as citizens in the fullest sense of the State which has received them. Such a Jew living in England would say, "I am an English man practising the Jewish faith." This is a worthy conception, and useful in the highest degree. We in Great Britain well know that during the great struggle the influence of what may be called the "National Jews" in many lands was cast preponderatingly on the side of the Allies; and in our own Army Jewish soldiers have played a most distinguished part, some rising to the command of armies, others winning the Victoria Cross for valour.

The National Russian Jews, in spite of the disabilities under which they have suffered, have managed to play an honorable and useful part in the national life even of Russia. As bankers and industrialists they have strenuously promoted the development of Russia's economic resources, and they were foremost in the creation of those remarkable organizations, the Russian Co-operative Societies. In politics their support has been given, for the most part, to liberal and progressive movements, and they have been among the staunchest upholder of friendship with France and Great Britain.

International Jews

In violent opposition to all this sphere of Jewish effort rise the schemes of the International Jews. The adherents of this sinister confederacy are mostly men reared up among the unhappy populations of countries where Jews are persecuted on account of their race. Most, if not all, of them have forsaken the faith of their forefathers, and divorced from their minds all spiritual hopes

of the next world. This movement among the Jews is not new. From the days of Spartacus-Weishaupt to those of Karl Marx, and down to Trotsky (Russia), Bela Kun (Hungary), Rosa Luxembourg (Germany), and Emma Goldman (United States), this world-wide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality, has been steadily growing. It played, as a modern writer, Mrs. Webster, has so ably shown, a definitely recognizable part in the tragedy of the French Revolution. It has been the mainspring of every subversive movement during the Nineteenth Century; and now at last this band of extraordinary personalities from the underworld of the great cities of Europe and America have gripped the Russian people by the hair of their heads and have become practically the undisputed masters of that enormous empire.

Terrorist Jews

There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution, by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews, it is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews. Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd) or of Krassin or Radek -- all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combating Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses. The same evil prominence was obtained by Jews in the brief period of terror during which Bela Kun ruled in Hungary. The same phenomenon has been presented in Germany (especially in Bavaria), so far as this madness has been allowed to prey upon the temporary prostration of the German people. Although in all these countries there are many non-Jews every whit as bad as the worst of the Jewish revolutionaries, the part played by the latter in proportion to their numbers in the population is astonishing.

'Protector of the Jews'

Needless to say, the most intense passions of revenge have been excited in the breasts of the Russian people. Wherever General Denikin's authority could reach, protection was always accorded to the Jewish population, and strenuous efforts were made by his officers to prevent reprisals and to punish those guilty of them. So much was this the case that the Petlurist propaganda against General Denikin denounced him as the Protector of the Jews. The Misses Healy, nieces of Mr. Tim Healy, in relating their personal experiences in Kieff, have declared that to their knowledge on more than one occasion officers who committed offenses against Jews were reduced to the ranks and sent out of the city to the front. But the hordes of brigands by whom the whole vast expanse of the Russian Empire is becoming infested do not hesitate to gratify their lust for blood and for revenge at the expense of the innocent Jewish population whenever an opportunity occurs. The brigand Makhno, the hordes of Petlura and of Gregorieff, who signalized their every success by the most brutal massacres, everywhere found among the half-stupefied, half-infuriated population an eager response to anti-Semitism in its worst and foulest forms.

The fact that in many cases Jewish interests and Jewish places of worship are excepted by the Bolsheviks from their universal hostility has tended more and more to associate the Jewish race in Russia with the villainies, which are now being perpetrated. This is an injustice on millions of helpless people, most of whom are themselves sufferers from the revolutionary regime. It becomes, therefore, specially important to foster and develop any strongly-marked Jewish movement which leads directly away from these fatal associations. And it is here that Zionism has such a deep significance for the whole world at the present time.

A Home for the Jews

Zionism offers the third sphere to the political conceptions of the Jewish race. In violent contrast to international communism, it presents to the Jew a national idea of a commanding character. It has fallen to the British Government, as the result of the conquest of Palestine, to have the opportunity and the responsibility of securing for the Jewish race all over the world a home and centre of national life. The statesmanship and historic sense of Mr. Balfour were prompt to seize this opportunity. Declarations have now been made which have irrevocably decided the policy of Great Britain. The fiery energies of Dr. Weissmann, the leader, for practical purposes, of the Zionist project, backed by many of the most prominent British Jews, and supported by the full authority of Lord Allenby, are all directed to achieving the success of this inspiring movement.

Of course, Palestine is far too small to accommodate more than a fraction of the Jewish race, nor do the majority of national Jews wish to go there. But if, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event would have occurred in the history of the world which would, from every point of view, be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

“The apparent disappearance of the Polish problem was not to be permanent. It created also for Russia a new internal difficulty, the Jewish problem, for Catherine had guaranteed their existing rights to all the inhabitants in the annexed territories. Among them were perhaps a million Jews. In Muscovite Russia, Jews had not been tolerated; occasional Jewish physicians had risked their lives in the service of the rulers, and Jewish merchants had been permitted to make brief visits, but permanent residence of Jews in the Russian realm was strictly forbidden. Vigorous efforts had been made to root out the few thousands of Jews who had become Russian subjects by virtue of the annexation of Smolensk and part of Little Russia in 1667. Even Catherine the Great, in her most “liberal” phase, aware that “it was only eight days since Catherine had come to the throne” and that “she had to deal with a pious people,” had not dared to act contrary to the sentiment expressed by Empress Elizabeth – “From the enemies of Christ I desire neither gain nor profit.” Despite the advice of the Senate that Russia’s economy would benefit from the admission of Jews, Catherine’s edict of December 4, 1762, permitting foreigners to settle in Russia, specifically excluded Jews. The Empress consoled herself in her *Memoirs* by adding: “Thus often it is not sufficient to be enlightened, to have the best intentions and the power to bring them into execution. But how often rash judgments are expressed about wise decisions.” Quite opposite had been the policy of Poland and, consequently, of Lithuania also. When persecution drove the Jews from the Germanies, they were welcomed by kings and nobles who, with no native bourgeoisie, gladly employed them as efficient business agents. **The Jews had not been integrated into Polish society but, as in other Western lands in an earlier age, had been given a special status under royal protection. They were not subject to the ordinary judicial and administrative authorities; in each major town they were authorized to elect their own officials; their *kahal* (community) was given wide jurisdiction over religious and economic matters, governed by the law of Moses.** In cases of dispute between a Jew and a Christian, the case was tried before a special Christian officer, the “Jewish judge,” appointed by the king or his representatives from nominees of the Jewish elders. The *kahal* organization was dominated by the rabbinate and by the small minority of wealthy Jews who farmed the taxes and performed other fiscal services for the crown and the landed magnates (*pani*). **Thus, Polish-Lithuanian Jewry had lived among, but distinct from, the general population. They were set apart, not only by their religion and by the special judicial and fiscal regime, but by language, dress, and cultural traditions. They spoke the dialectic German they had brought from their own homes, which became the basis of Yiddish. They were generally restricted to special streets (ghettos), and the Church insisted on their wearing a special costume; they themselves, in their religious orthodoxy, chose to wear distinctive beards and earlocks. They had also their own schools, the elementary heder and the more advanced academy, the yeshiva; these schools, which were for boys only, concentrated strictly on Biblical and Talmudic studies.** Secular learning was rare; even the renowned Solomon Luria (c. 1510-73) had condemned as useless to Jews the teachings of “the uncircumcised Aristotle.” The Jewish physicians of the Polish kings were therefore drawn mainly from the refugee Sephardic Jews of Spain and Italy; the local Ashkenazi Jews lived in a closed world of tradition, in which philosophy was condemned as “the harlot.” Still more importantly, perhaps, the Jews performed special economic roles. Although they constituted about one-eighth of the total population of the country, a Polish census in the late eighteenth century found only fourteen Jewish families engaged in agriculture. On the other hand, they controlled three-fourths of the export trade. Nowhere a majority, they formed a good third of the population of the towns, large and small. A great many of them were artisans, but it has been estimated that about one-half of them lived, in whole or in part, by leasing from the landlords the right to sell liquor. Most of the village tavernkeepers were themselves desperately poor, but they were widely regarded as exploiters of the peasantry; in conjunction with the sale of spirits, they vended other goods, bought up agricultural produce, and leased meadows, woodlots, and fishponds (hence the term *arendar*, from the Latin word for “rent,” which became almost a synonym for the rural Jew). The peasantry had always reacted hostilely, when opportunity offered, to this alien element in their midst. With the gradual growth of a gentile bourgeoisie, living under the “Magdeburg Law” but feeling the competition of the Jews, bitterness increased, as in earlier centuries it had in the West. The Polish masses were prone to give credence to wild stories of ritual murders. The best efforts of the kings and nobles were not always able to keep anti-Semitism in check; the city magistracies frequently failed to give the necessary protection against mob violence. Particularly in the Polish *ukraine*, the Jews suffered frightfully, along with the Polish nobility and their retainers, at the hands of rebellious cossacks and peasant *haidamaks* (a term derived from a Turkish word for “bandits”). One of the most notable instances was the massacre of Uman, near Kiev (1762), in which some twenty thousand Poles and Jews, who had fled thither from the surrounding area, were slaughtered in a vast pogrom. Precarious as was the position of the Jews in the Rzecz Pospolita, it was a golden age compared to what was in store for them when suddenly plunged into “Holy Russia.” Catherine’s promise at the time of the First Partition to preserve “the free exercise of religion and the inviolability of property for one and all” was initially implemented by confirmation of the *kahal* structure in White Russia (1776). In 1783, however, an edict deprived the *kahals* of all but their spiritual jurisdiction and fiscal responsibilities; thenceforth the Jews of White Russia were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the town magistracies, in the election of which they were supposed to share on an equal basis with Christian merchants and burghers. In 1786, they were guaranteed proportionate representation on the basis of the new Charter to the Towns of 1785. The effort of Jewish merchants to extend their activities from White Russia to Smolensk and Moscow evoked loud protest; as a result, a decree of 1791 initiated formally the policy of the Pale of Settlement; Jews might reside only in the newly annexed provinces or in New Russia, the sparsely settled provinces that had recently been taken from Turkey. Following the Second Partition of Poland, the area of the Pale was extended to include, not only Russia’s new acquisitions, but the whole of Little Russia, including even Kiev (1794). At the same time, Jews throughout the Pale were required to enroll in the merchant or burgher classes, on penalty of total expulsion, and to pay double the rate of normal taxation. It was small consolation that by the end of Catherine’s reign official documents were using the term *Yevrei* (Hebrews) instead of the original pejorative *Zhid*.”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 251-253

American Ambassador David Rowland Francis' Opinion Regarding American Jews and Russian Jews: In His Own Words



David Rowland Francis
U.S. Ambassador to Russia (May 5, 1916-November 7, 1918)

“The mission upon which I have started is a very difficult one and will require the most delicate work. **The Jews should not expect us to regulate the internal affairs of Russia, as we would not permit any country to interfere with the enactment of our laws or administration thereof.** If our new treaty with Russia should provide that all citizens of the United States should be in equal rights with the citizens of the most favored nation with which Russia has relations and should contain a reciprocal clause applying to the rights of Russians in the United States, our Jewish friends should certainly be satisfied. You are aware that Russia has about 20,000,000 Chinese subjects whom the United States excludes from residence or citizenship.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia-designate David Rowland Francis, in his letter to Charles S. Hamlin, Governor [later Chairman] of the Federal Reserve Board, April 20, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 14)

“The task [of being ambassador to Russia] is a difficult one, and the difficulties are numerous and imposing. **The Jews of the United States expect that country to regulate the laws of Russia while, at the same time, they would resent any attempted interference on the part of that country or any other to influence in the slightest degree our internal affairs.** As I wrote Secretary Lansing yesterday, which is my second letter to him since clearing from New York, the Jews should be satisfied with the commercial treaty which will affect all classes in our country in the same manner that it would like classes in other countries or in the most favored nation. . . . If the treaty should contain an obligation that would bind Russia and also bind the United States each to grant to citizens of the other high contracting party the same privileges of visit and residence that it grants to the most favored nations with which it has relations, that is all they could reasonably ask or expect.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia-designate David Rowland Francis, in his letter to Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo on April 21, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 14)

“I shall assume my diplomatic duties immediately after arrival at the Russian capital, and from what I have heard I shall find more than enough to occupy my time and thought. Having never been to Russia, I claim no acquaintance with the character of her people; I am told that they are very courteous, very approachable, kind-hearted, and confiding. **My first work will be negotiating a commercial treaty, as the one we had with Russia, made in 1832, was abrogated in 1912 by President Taft because Russia would not observe passports given to American citizens if they were Jews.** I will not here enter upon a discussion of this Jewish question, to which I have been giving considerable attention of late, than to say that it has two sides. **The Jews of America are very unreasonable if they demand, as they appear to be doing, that we regulate the domestic affairs of Russia.** If Russia should presume to tell us how to handle the Negro problem, we would very probably resent it; in fact, we would brook no interference with our laws excluding the Chinese, although Russia has 20,000,000 Chinese subjects. Russia is today the most interesting country on earth because of her immense area, her enormous population approximating 200,000,000, and her varied and immeasurable resources. If Jewish opposition should prevent the approving of any commercial treaty I may negotiate, the result will be a very strong anti-Semitic feeling throughout the United States. Now is the time for us to establish close commercial relations with Russia.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia-designate David Rowland Francis, in his letter to Mr. J. Charles Cabanna, St. Louis Dairy Co. in St. Louis, Missouri, April 25, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 15)

“I have only time to write you that if the Jews of the United States, who number hardly 2% of the population, insist upon interfering with the establishment of direct commercial relations between Russia and the United States at this juncture, they will not only antagonize the commercial interests at our country, but will encourage an anti-Semitic sentiment throughout the United States which will result to the great detriment of the Jews of our country. Please say to Senator [Charles Spalding] Thomas that in my judgment no commercial treaty can be negotiated with Russia which will specify particularly that American passports given to Jews shall be honored. If we can secure a provision in the treaty that will guarantee to citizens of the United States the same rights and privileges of visit and residence in Russia that are granted to the citizens of the most favored nation with which Russia has any relations, the Jews of our country should be satisfied therewith. Of course, such a treaty will stipulate that the United States will extend to citizens of Russia only such rights and privileges of visit and citizenship as are extended to the citizens of the most favored nation with which the United States has any relations, as our laws will not permit the United States to grant to citizens of Russia the unabridged right of visit and residence. Russia, as you know, has 20,000,000 Mongolian subjects whom the laws of the United States will not grant the right of citizenship. I shall be pleased to hear from you, and also from Senator Thomas on this subject.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia-designate David Rowland Francis, in his letter to Hon. William Malburn, Treasury Department, April 25, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 15-16)

“As I have written heretofore to either you or Secretary Lansing, there is no doubt that if the Jews were given absolutely equal rights of residence, profession, etc., in Russia and the right to own land, they would become possessors of the entire Empire within a comparatively short time. Nor do I think that this fear is wholly without foundation. The peasant would stand no show whatever with the designing, usurious, and pitiless Jew. I have no prejudice against the Jews as a class nor as a race; in fact many of them, like Oscar Straus, I admire, and some of my personal friends are Jews [!] In Russia, however, it seems that while all of the Jews are not spies, a decided majority of the spies are Jews. In Petrograd now a very rich Jew is in prison, having been arrested several weeks ago. His name is Reubenstein, and he was the president of a bank. There are a number of charges against him; his wife and his mistress were also imprisoned. It is said that he bought up all the sugar [for speculation], and if so, I think he should be imprisoned for life. It is a daily occurrence to see hundreds of people standing in line hours or more to buy sugar, and then they can get only one pound each. **Every money-making scheme of a reprehensible character is traced to a Jew.** These people [the Russians] are very religious, at least in form, and the Jews make fun of their religion. These and many other causes conduce to make Jews unpopular in Russia.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia David Rowland Francis, in his letter to State Department Counselor Frank L. Polk, August 30, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 50)

“I have not been able to negotiate a commercial treaty, nor do the prospects thereof appear very promising as all three of the political parties in the United States have declared against commercial treaties with any country not granting to its subjects the right of expatriation. Furthermore, the prejudice in Russia against the Jews is growing; in fact, it is much stronger today than it was six months ago, so I hear even from those who are friendly to the Jews. If you were in Russia, you could understand it better. The army is very bitter against the Jews because they claim the Jews are the first to run in a battle and that if the Jews are not all spies, at least 95% of the spies are Jews. Sugar is a very scarce commodity in Petrograd and throughout Russia, and the Jews are said to be responsible therefore because some of the shrewder ones have bought up the supply. Of course this is not for publication nor even for repetition in America, where it seems all three of the political parties are angling for the Jewish vote and where the Jews are very potential [sic] in financial circles as well as in the newspaper world. If the business interests of America begin to realize that their commerce with this great country is interfered with because of Jewish influence in America, there will grow up in our country an anti-Semitic feeling which will be very unfortunate for the Jews.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia David Rowland Francis, in his letter to Mr. W.K. Bixby, President of the Laclede Gas Company in St. Louis, Missouri, September 4, 1916

(Source: *Dollars and Diplomacy: Ambassador David Rowland Francis and the Fall of Tsarism, 1916-17*, Edited by Jamie H. Cockfield, p. 51)



American Jewish politician U.S. Senator Jacob Javits visits Moscow, Soviet Union in an undated photo. Jacob Javits was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private foreign affairs organization in New York City.
(Photo: Time Life/<http://forum.bodybuilding.com/showthread.php?t=143964301&page=10>)



American Jewish politician U.S. Senator Jacob Javits visits Moscow, Soviet Union in an undated photo. Jacob Javits was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private foreign affairs organization in New York City.
(Photo: Time Life/<http://forum.bodybuilding.com/showthread.php?t=143964301&page=9>)

From Russia With Love?

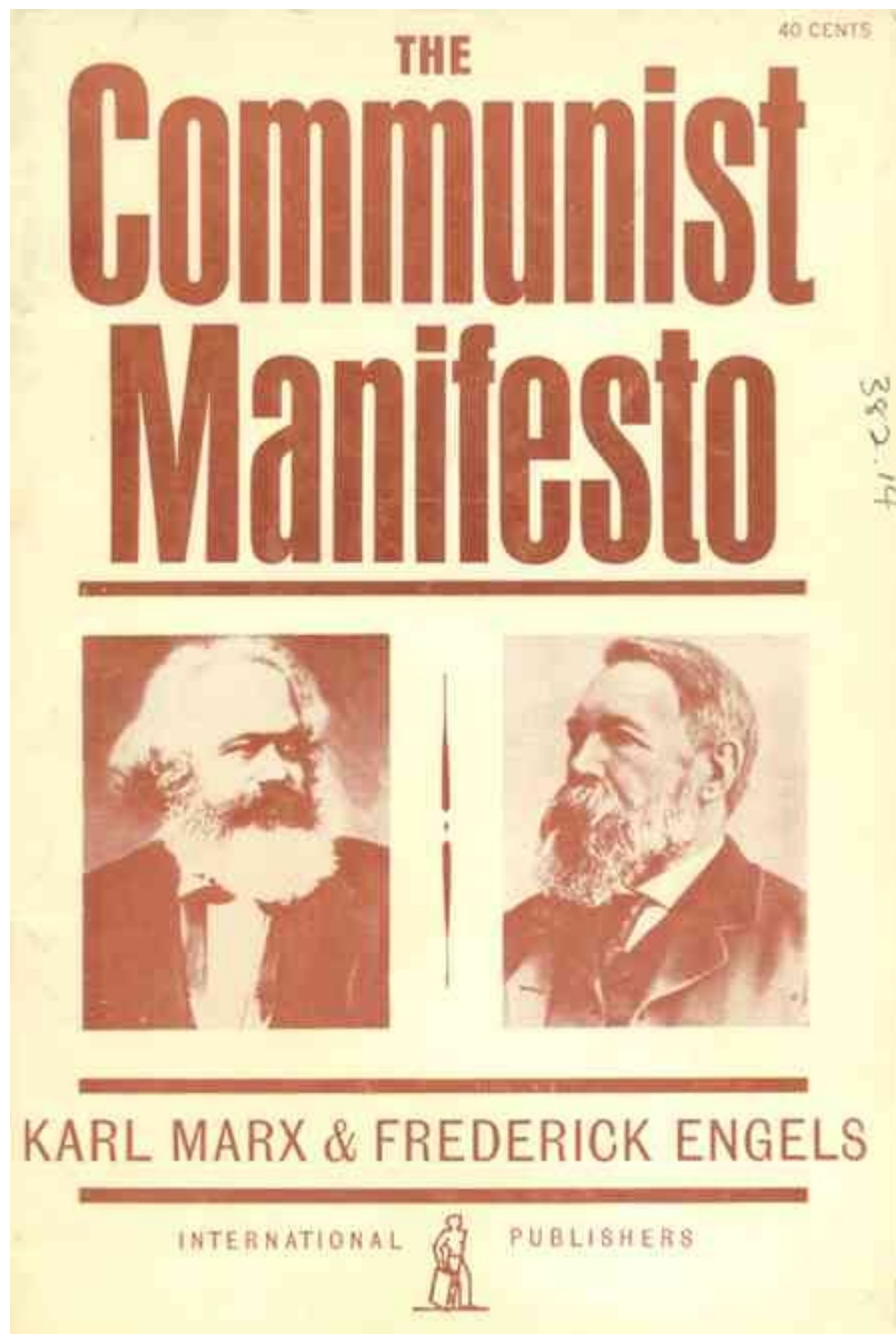


Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev (center) and his interpreter Andrei Vavilov (2nd right) admire Hollywood actress and “sex symbol” Jill St. John (2nd left) at a pool party held at the home of U.S. President Richard Nixon (right) in San Clemente, California on June 25, 1973. Jill St. John co-starred with Sean Connery in the James Bond movie *Diamonds Are Forever*. (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)

“Corrupt the young, get them away from religion. Get them interested in sex. Make them superficial, destroy their ruggedness. Get control of all means of publicity and thereby: Get the peoples’ mind off their government by focusing their attention on athletics, sexy books and plays, and other trivialities. Divide the people into hostile groups by constantly harping on controversial matters of no importance. Destroy the people’s faith in their natural leaders by holding up the latter to ridicule, contempt and obloquy. Always preach true democracy but seize power as fast and as ruthlessly as possible. Encourage government extravagance, destroy its credit, produce fear with rising prices, inflation and general discontent. Foment unnecessary strikes in vital industries, encourage civil disorders and foster a soft and lenient attitude on the part of government towards such disorders. By specious argument cause the breakdown of the old moral virtues: honesty, sobriety, continence, faith in the pledged word, ruggedness. Cause the registration of all firearms on some pretext, with the view of confiscating them and leaving the population defenseless.” – Vladimir Lenin, 1921



Red Army commander Leon Trotsky (right of podium) watches the crowd as Vladimir Lenin delivers a speech at Sverdlov Square in Moscow, Soviet Russia on May 5, 1920.



Karl Marx's Ten Planks

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the banks of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education [indoctrination] for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.



Das Kapital.

Kritik der politischen Oekonomie.

Von

Karl Marx.

Erster Band.

Buch I: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals.

Das Recht der Uebersetzung wird vorbehalten.

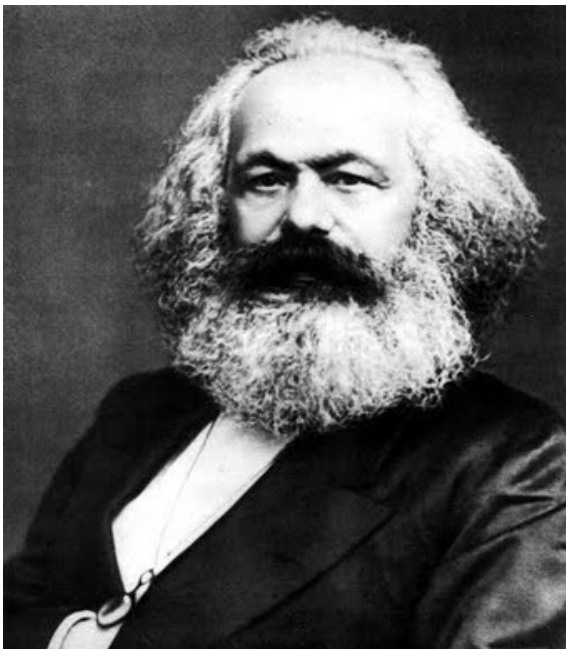
Hamburg

Verlag von Otto Meissner.

1867.

New-York: L. W. Schmidt, 24 Barclay-Street.

Manifesto of the Communist Party (German: *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*), also known as *The Communist Manifesto*, was published on **February 21, 1848**. *Das Kapital* was written by Karl Marx and edited by Friedrich Engels; *Das Kapital* was published in 1867.



Karl Marx (left, born May 5, 1818; died March 14, 1883) and Friedrich Engels (right, born November 28, 1820; died August 5, 1895) were the co-author of *The Communist Manifesto*. Karl Marx's great-grandfather was Salomon David Barent-Cohen, and Karl Marx's great-great grandfather was Barent Cohen. British Jewish banker Nathan Meyer Rothschild's wife was Hannah Barent-Cohen, the daughter of Levi Barent-Cohen and granddaughter of Barent Cohen.



The aborted German Revolution in Berlin, Prussia [Germany] on **March 19, 1848**. In the painting one can recognize in the middle and on the bottom edge the flag of the monarchist Revolutionaries. They wanted a unified Germany with a monarch at its head. On the right side one can see two flags of the republican Revolutionaries. They wanted a Republic based on the French example and therefore constructed their flag with vertical stripes, in the style of the French Tricolor. The order of the three colors on the first German Tricolors varied. **Klemens Wenzel von Metternich** resigned as **Foreign Minister of Austria** on **March 13, 1848** after angry residents of Vienna demanded his resignation.



A painting of a street battle at Soufflot barricades at Rue Soufflot Street in Paris, France on **June 24, 1848**.

"The international Socialist movement was both a product of the nineteenth century and a revulsion against it. It was rooted in some of the characteristics of the century, such as its industrialism, its optimism, its belief in progress, its humanitarianism, its scientific materialism, and its democracy, but it was in revolt against its laissez faire, its middleclass domination, its nationalism, its urban slums, and its emphasis on the price-profit system as the dominant factor in all human values. This does not mean that all Socialists had the same beliefs or that these beliefs did not change with the passing years. On the contrary, there were almost as many different kinds of Socialism as there were Socialists, and the beliefs categorized under this term changed from year to year and from country to country. Industrialism, especially in its early years, brought with it social and economic conditions which were admittedly horrible. Human beings were brought together around factories to form great new cities which were sordid and unsanitary. In many cases, these persons were reduced to conditions of animality which shock the imagination. Crowded together in want and disease, with no leisure and no security, completely dependent on a weekly wage which was less than a pittance, they worked twelve to fifteen hours a day for six days in the week among dusty and dangerous machines with no protection against inevitable accidents, disease, or old age, and returned at night to crowded rooms without adequate food and lacking light, fresh air, heat, pure water, or sanitation. These conditions have been described for us in the writings of novelists such as Dickens in England, Hugo or Zola in France, in the reports of parliamentary committees such as the Sadler Committee of 1832 or Lord Ashley's Committee in 1842, and in numerous private studies like *In Darkest England* by General William Booth of the Salvation Army. Just at the end of the century, private scientific studies of these conditions began to appear in England, led by Charles Booth's *Life and Labour of the People in London* or B. Seebohm Rowntree's *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*. The Socialist movement was a reaction against these deplorable conditions of the working masses. It has been customary to divide this movement into two parts at the year 1848, the earlier part being called "the period of the Utopian Socialists" while the later part has been called "the period of scientific Socialism." The dividing line between the two parts is marked by the publication in 1848 of *The Communist Manifesto* of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. This work, which began with the ominous sentence, "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism," and ended with the trumpet blast, "Workers of the world, unite!" is generally regarded as the seed from which developed, in the twentieth century, Russian Bolshevism and Stalinism. Such a view is undoubtedly an oversimplification, for the development of Socialist ideology is full of twists and turns and might well have grown along quite different paths if the history of the movement itself had been different. The history of the Socialist movement may be divided into three periods associated with the three Socialist Internationals. The First International lasted from 1864 to 1876 and was as much anarchistic as Socialistic. It was finally disrupted by the controversies of these two groups. The Second International was the Socialist International, founded in 1889. This became increasingly conservative and was disrupted by the Communists during World War I. The Third, or Communist, International was organized in 1919 by dissident elements from the Second International. As a result of the controversies of these three movements, the whole anticapitalist ideology, which began as a confused revolt against the economic and social conditions of industrialism in 1848, became sorted out into four chief schools. These schools became increasingly doctrinaire and increasingly bitter in their relationships. **The basic division within the Socialist movement after 1848 was between those who wished to abolish or reduce the functions of the state and those who wished to increase these functions by giving economic activities to the state. The former division came in time to include the anarchists and the syndicalists, while the latter division came to include the Socialists and the Communists.** In general the former division believed that man was innately good and that all coercive power was bad, with public authority the worst form of such coercive power. All of the world's evil, according to the anarchists, arose because man's innate goodness was corrupted and distorted by coercive power. The remedy, they felt, was to destroy the state. This would lead to the disappearance of all other forms of coercive power and to the liberation of the innate goodness of man. The simplest way to destroy the state, they felt, would be to assassinate the chief of the state; this would act as a spark to ignite a wholesale uprising of oppressed humanity against all forms of coercive power. These views led to numerous assassinations of various political leaders, including a king of Italy and a president of the United States, in the period 1895-1905. Syndicalism was a somewhat more realistic and later version of anarchism. It was equally determined to abolish all public authority, but did not rely on the innate goodness of individuals for the continuance of social life. Rather it aimed to replace public authority by voluntary associations of individuals to supply the companionship and management of social life which, according to these thinkers, the state had so signally failed to provide. The chief of such voluntary associations replacing the state would be labor unions. According to the syndicalists, the state was to be destroyed, not by the assassination of individual heads of states, but by a general strike of the workers organized in labor unions. Such a strike would give the workers a powerful esprit de corps based on a sense of their power and solidarity. By making all forms of coercion impossible, the general strike would destroy the state and replace it by a flexible federation of free associations of workers (syndicates). Anarchism's most vigorous proponent was the Russian exile Michael Bakunin (1814-1876). His doctrines had considerable appeal in Russia itself, but in western Europe they were widely accepted only in Spain, especially Barcelona, and in parts of Italy where economic and psychological conditions were somewhat similar to those in Russia. Syndicalism flourished in the same areas at a later date, although its chief theorists were French, led by Georges Sorel (1847-1922). The second group of radical social theorists was fundamentally opposed to the anarcho-syndicalists, although this fact was recognized only gradually. This second group wished to widen the power and scope of governments by giving them a dominant role in economic life. In the course of time, the confusions within this second group began to sort themselves out, and the group divided into two chief schools: the Socialists and the Communists. These two schools were further apart in organization and in their activities than they were in their theories, because the Socialists became increasingly moderate and even conservative in their activities, while remaining relatively revolutionary in their theories. However, as their theories gradually followed their activities in the direction of moderation, in the period of the Second International (1889-1919), violent controversies arose between those who pretended to remain loyal to the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx and those who wished to revise these ideas in a more moderate direction to adapt them to what they considered to be changing social and economic conditions. The strict interpreters of Karl Marx came to be known as Communists, while the more moderate revisionist group came to be known as Socialists. The rivalries of the two groups ultimately disrupted the

Second International as well as the labor movement as a whole, so that anti-labor regimes were able to come to power in much of Europe in the period 1918-1939. This disruption and failure of the working-class movement is one of the chief factors in European history in the twentieth century and, accordingly, requires at least a brief survey of its nature and background."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 23 (The International Socialist Movement), p. 375-378

"The ideas of Karl Marx (1818-1883) and of his associate Friedrich Engels (1820-1895) were published in the Communist Manifesto of 1848 and in their three-volume opus, *Das Kapital* (1867-1894). Although they were aroused by the deplorable conditions of the European working classes under industrialism, the chief sources of the ideas themselves were to be found in the idealism of Hegel, the materialism of the ancient Greek atomists (especially Democritus), and the theories of the English classical economists (especially Ricardo). Marx derived from Hegel what has come to be known as the "historical dialectic." This theory maintained that all historical events were the result of a struggle between opposing forces which ultimately merged to create a situation which was different from either. Any existing organization of society or of ideas (thesis) calls forth, in time, an opposition (anti-thesis). These two struggle with each other and give rise to the events of history, until finally the two fuse into a new organization (synthesis). This synthesis in turn becomes established as a new thesis to a new opposition or antithesis, and the struggle continues, as history continues. A chief element in Marxist theory was the economic interpretation of history. According to this view, the economic organization of any society was the basic aspect of that society, since all other aspects, such as political, social, intellectual, or religious, reflected the organization and powers of the economic level. From Ricardo, Marx derived the theory that the value of economic goods was based on the amount of labor put into them. Applying this idea to industrial society where labor obtains wages which reflect only part of the value of the product they are making, Marx decided that labor was being exploited. Such exploitation was possible, he believed, because the working classes did not own the "instruments of production" (that is, factories, land, and tools) but had allowed these, by legal chicanery, to fall into the hands of the possessing classes. In this way, the capitalistic system of production had divided society into two antithetical classes: the bourgeoisie who owned the instruments of production and the proletariat who lived from selling their labor. The proletariat, however, were robbed of part of their product by the fact that their wages represented only a portion of the value of their labor, the "surplus value" of which they were deprived going to the bourgeoisie as profits. The bourgeoisie were able to maintain this exploitative system because the economic, social, intellectual, and religious portions of society reflected the exploitative nature of the economic system. The money which the bourgeoisie took from the proletariat in the economic system made it possible for them to dominate the political system (including the police and the army), the social system (including family life and education), as well as the religious system and the intellectual aspects of society (including the arts, literature, philosophy, and all the avenues of publicity for these). From these three concepts of the historical dialectic, economic determinism, and the labor theory of value, Marx built up a complicated theory of past and future history. He believed that "all history is the history of class struggles." Just as in antiquity, history was concerned with the struggles of free men and slaves or of plebians and patricians, so, in the Middle Ages, it was concerned with the struggles of serfs and lords, and, in modern times, with the struggles of proletariat and bourgeoisie. Each privileged group arises from opposition to an earlier privileged group, plays its necessary role in historical progress, and is, in time, successfully challenged by those it has been exploiting. Thus the bourgeoisie rose from exploited serfs to challenge successfully the older privileged group of feudal lords and moved into a period of bourgeois supremacy in which it contributed to history a fully capitalized industrial society but will be challenged, in its turn, by the rising power of the laboring masses. To Marx, the revolution of the proletariat was not only inevitable but would inevitably be successful, and would give rise to an entirely new society with a proletariat system of government, social life, intellectual patterns, and religious organization. The "inevitable revolution" must lead to an "inevitable victory of the proletariat" because the privileged position of the bourgeoisie allowed them to practice a merciless exploitation of the proletariat, pressing these laboring masses downward to a level of bare subsistence, because labor, having become nothing but a commodity for sale for wages in the competitive market, would naturally fall to the level which would just allow the necessary supply of labor to survive. From such exploitation, the bourgeoisie would become richer and richer and fewer and fewer in numbers, and acquire ownership of all property in the society while the proletariat would become poorer and poorer and more and more numerous and be driven closer and closer to desperation. Eventually, the bourgeoisie would become so few and the proletariat would become so numerous that the latter could rise up in their wrath and take over the instruments of production and thus control of the whole society. According to this theory, the "inevitable revolution" would occur in the most advanced industrial country because only after a long period of industrialism would the revolutionary situation become acute and would the society itself be equipped with factories able to support a Socialist system. Once the revolution has taken place, there will be established a "dictatorship of the proletariat" during which the political, social, military, intellectual, and religious aspects of society will be transformed in a Socialist fashion. At the end of this period, full Socialism will be established, the state will disappear, and a "classless society" will come into existence. At this point history will end. This rather surprising conclusion to the historical process would occur because Marx had defined history as the process of class struggle and had defined the state as the instrument of class exploitation. Since, in the Socialist state, there will be no exploitation and thus no classes, there will be no class struggles and no need for a state."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 23 (The International Socialist Movement), p. 378-380

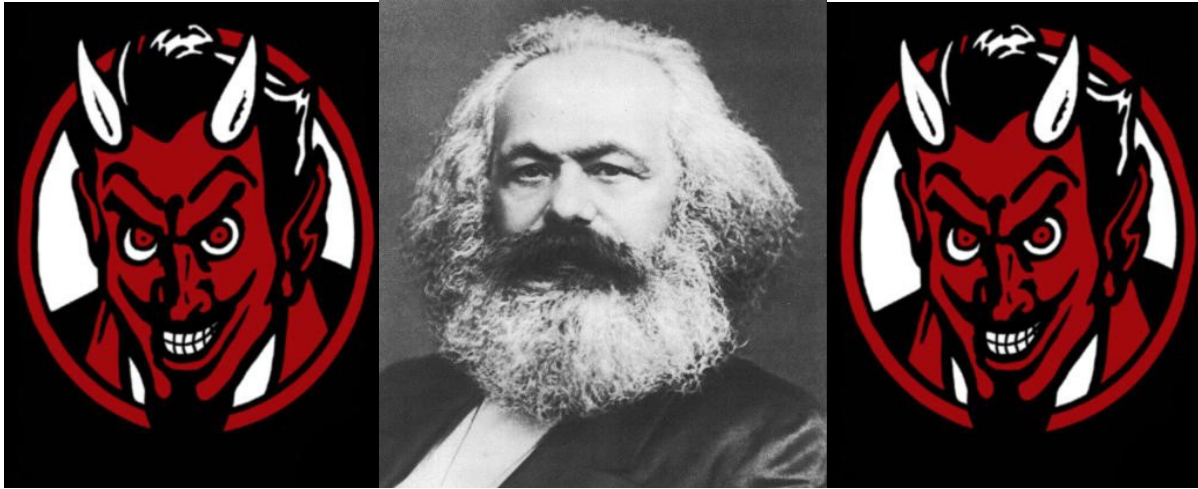
DER DEUTSCHE BUND

1815–1866



Map of the German Confederation, 1815-1866

Karl Marx: Jewish Satanist or Devil's Advocate?



Godfather of Communism: In His Own Words

Karl Marx's Poems

"Der Spielmann" ("The Fiddler") by Karl Marx

*That art God neither wants nor wists,
It leaps to the brain from Hell's black mists.
Till heart's bewitched, till senses reel:
With Satan I have struck my deal.*

"The Pale Maiden" by Karl Marx

*"Thus heaven I've forfeited,
I know it full well.
**My soul, once true to God,
Is chosen for hell.**"*

"Invocation of One in Despair" By Karl Marx

*"So a god has snatched from me my all
In the curse and rack of destiny.
All his worlds are gone beyond recall
Nothing but revenge is left for me.*

*I shall build my throne high overhead,
Cold, tremendous shall its summit be.
For its bulwark, supersitious dreads.
For its marshal, blackest agony...."*

*"Then I will be able to walk triumphantly,
like a god, through the ruins of their kingdom.
Every word of mine is fire and action.
My breast is equal to that of the creator."*

Karl Marx's Hatred of God

"Then I will be able to walk triumphantly like a god, through the ruins of their kingdom. Every word of mine is fire and action. My breast is **equal** to that of the **Creator**."
– Karl Marx

"For me he beats the time and gives the signs. Even more boldly I play the dance of death." – Karl Marx

"You will sink down and I shall follow laughing, whispering in your ear 'descend', come with me my friend." – Karl Marx

"See this sword? The **Prince of Darkness** sold it to me."
– Karl Marx

"Soon I shall embrace eternity to my breast, and soon I shall howl gigantic curses on mankind." – Karl Marx

"I shall build my throne high overhead. Cold, tremendous shall its summit be." – Karl Marx

"I wish to avenge myself against the One who rules above." – Karl Marx

"History is the judge, the proletariat its executioner."
– Karl Marx, April 14, 1856 (Paul Johnson, "The Intellectuals", Stockholm, 1989, p. 74.)

KARL MARX: ANTI-SEMITES*

“We know that behind every tyrant stands a Jew, as a Jesuit stands behind every Pope.”

- Karl Marx, 1856, from the New York Tribune

“...if it were not for the Jews who steal the treasures of mankind.”

- Karl Marx, 1856, from the New York Tribune

“They were like the contemporary usurers who stand behind tyrants and tyrannies, and the majority of them are Jewish.”

- Karl Marx, 1856, from the New York Tribune

“The fact that the Jews have become so strong as to endanger the life of the world causes us to disclose their organization, their purpose, that its stench might awaken the workers of the world to fight and eliminate such a canker.”

- Karl Marx, 1856, from the New York Tribune

“Squash the Jewish capitalists. Hang them from lamp posts. Tread them under foot.”

- Karl Marx, 1856, from the New York Tribune

MARX HATED GERMANS

“Beating is the only means of resurrecting the Germans.”

“...the stupid German people...their disgusting national narrowness.”

“Germans, Chinese, and Jews have to be compared with peddlers and small merchants.”

MARX HATED SLAVIC PEOPLE

The following phrases that Marx used to describe the Poles, Czechs, Russians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenians, and other Slavic people. (1) “the Slavic riffraff,” (2) “retrograde races,” (3) “cabbage eaters,” (4) “ethnic trash.”

“Their very name [Slavs] will vanish.”

- Karl Marx, 1848

MARX: ANTI-BLACK, RACIST EXTRAORDINAIRE

“It is now absolutely clear to me that, as both the shape of his head and the texture of his hair shows, he (Lassalle) is descended from the Negroes who joined Moses' flight from Egypt (unless his mother or grandmother on the paternal side hybridized with a nigger). The pushiness of the fellow is also nigger-like.”

“Without slavery, North America, the most progressive of countries, would be transformed into a patriarchal country. Wipe North America from the map of the world and you will have anarchy -- the complete decay of modern commerce and civilization. Abolish slavery and you will have wiped America off the map of nations.”

[*Note: Karl Marx was a Jew.]

Source: <http://www.rense.com/politics4/marxsatan.htm>

Karl Marx's Comrades: In His Own Words



Comrade Robert Mugabe:
"Nigger-like"



Comrade Josip Broz Tito:
"cabbage eaters"



Comrade Eric Honecker:
"the stupid German people"



Comrade Leon Trotsky:
"Jewish capitalists"



Comrade Vladimir Lenin (left) and Comrade Joseph Stalin:
"the Slavic riffraff"



Comrade Chou En-lai (left) and Comrade Mao Tse-tung:
"peddlers and small merchants"

"The **COMING WORLD WAR** will cause not only reactionary classes and dynasties, but entire reactionary peoples, to disappear from the face of the earth. And that will be progress." – Karl Marx

The Karl Marx Body Count:
100,000,000 DEAD & Counting



Delegates to the Third Congress of the European Branch of the Chinese Socialist Youth League in Paris. In the front row, first from the left is Nie Rongzhen, fourth from the left is Zhou Enlai, and sixth from the left is Li Fuchun. Father is third from the right in the last row.

Chinese socialist delegates attend the Third Congress of the European Branch of the Chinese Socialist Youth League in Paris, France in the early 1920s. Chou Enlai is seated in the front row, fourth from left. Deng Xiaoping ("Father") is seated in the back row, third from right. (Source: *Deng Xiaoping: My Father* by Deng Maomao)



Ho Chi Minh visits in France in 1919-1920 to attend the Paris Peace Conference and participate in Communist movements. Ho Chi Minh lived in exile in China during the 1920s to escape persecution in French Indochina. (Photo: http://rationalrevolution.net/war/american_involvement_in_vietnam.htm)



Che Guevara visits Moscow, Soviet Russia in 1964.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1986-0416-418
Foto: Reiche, Hartmut | 16. April 1986

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev stands in front of the Brandenburg Gate in East Berlin on April 16, 1986.
(Photo: German Federal Archives)

“Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement towards a **new world order**.”

– Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech delivered at the United Nations in December 1988



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-K1102-032
Foto: Franke, Klaus | 2. November 1971

Communist-trained homosexual Arab terrorist Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), stands in front of the Brandenburg Gate in East Berlin, East Germany on November 2, 1971. East Berlin was the capital of the Communist state of East Germany, also known as the German Democratic Republic (*Deutsche Demokratische Republik*), from 1949 to 1990.



Communist flags of (left to right) Yugoslavia, East Germany, and Red Vietnam



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-L0614-040
Foto: Koard, Peter | 14. Juni 1972

Cuba's Communist ruler Fidel Castro meets with members of the East German army and Stasi agents in front of the Brandenburg Gate in East Berlin on June 14, 1972. (German Federal Archive)





A military parade is held in front of the Mausoleum (Lenin's Tomb) on Red Square in Moscow, Soviet Union on May Day in 1961. (Time Life Photo)

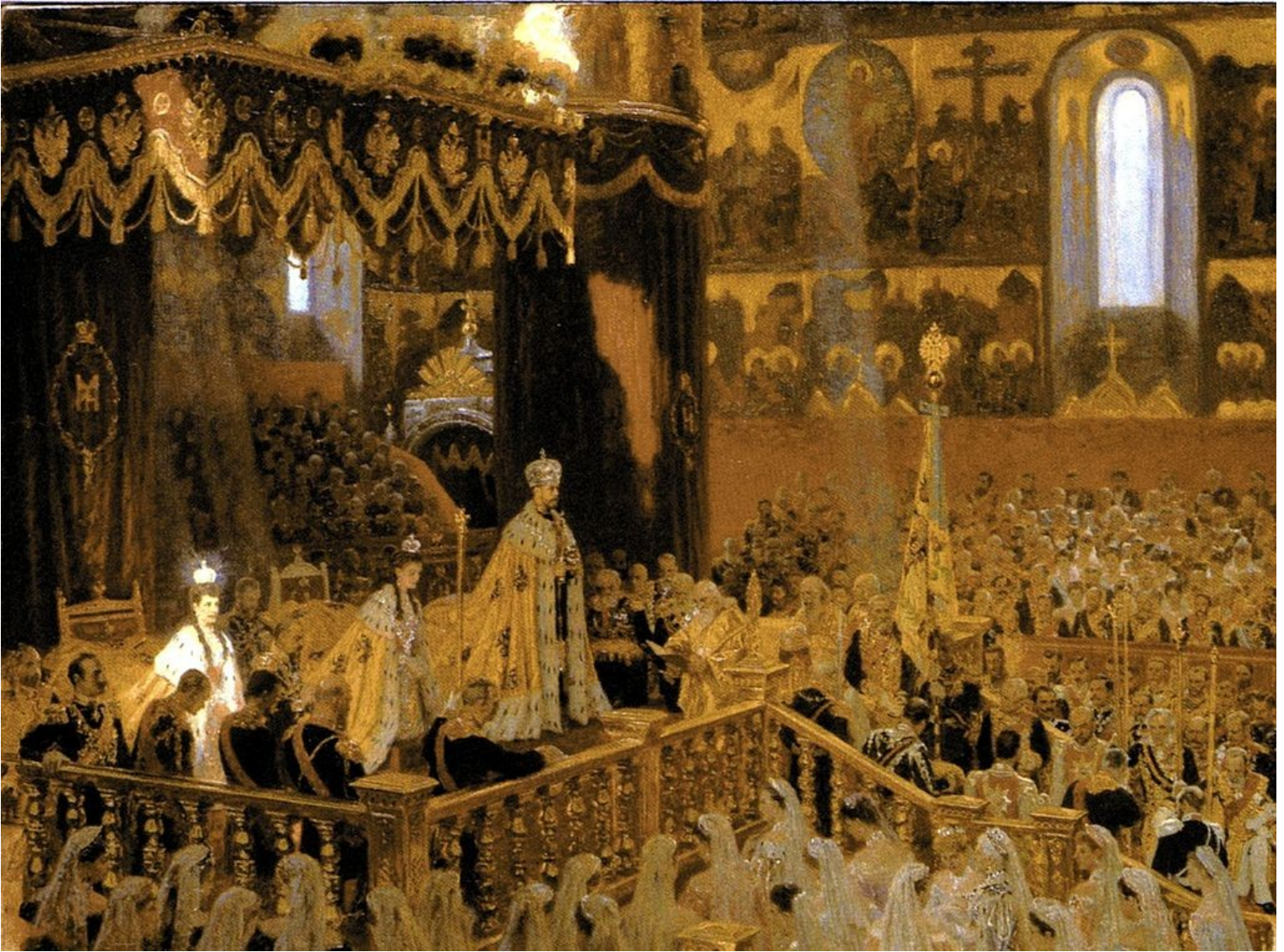


The old KGB headquarters at Lubyanka in Moscow. The KGB was founded by Polish born 'Iron Felix' Edmundovich Dzerzhinsky. (Photo: [Flickr](#))



The Red Square, Lenin's Tomb, and the Kremlin in Moscow

Prelude to the Bolshevik Revolution: The Decline of the House of Romanov



Czar Nicholas II of Russia and his wife Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna are coronated in St. Petersburg, Russia on May 26, 1896.

“The invasion of 1812 was the most serious challenge to the Russian State since the invasion of Charles XII of Sweden in 1709. The development of Russia since that time is well symbolized by the immense bronze statue of Peter the Great erected by the most famous of his successors, Catherine II. It shows the maker of modern Russia mounted on a horse which even he controls only with difficulty; he points towards the river Neva and the city which he had built. Inscribed upon the huge granite block which supports the rider are the simple words, in Russian and in Latin: 'Petro Primo Catherina Secunda'. In this laconic fashion did the two illustrious statebuilders greet one another. This statue inspired Pushkin to write one of his greatest poems, 'The Bronze Horseman'. In it he imagines Peter's thoughts as he surveys the city of his creation...”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 15

“St. Petersburg had been intended by its founder to be a fortress and a port; it became, during the eighteenth century, one of the most beautiful cities in Europe. Imperial palaces, the houses of the nobility and the merchants, theatres and schools, arose on the inhospitable marshes. They were the work of foreign architects. St Petersburg always had a large foreign population including a substantial English and Scottish colony. From this exotic city, the Venice of the North, the rulers of Russia surrounded by their courtiers, soldiers and bureaucrats, looked outward at a Europe which seemed similar to their own capital and inward at a land which seemed strange and foreign. Yet the inhabitants of that land accepted with little criticism their German-born autocrats and French-speaking court nobility. The alternative to autocracy was thought to be anarchy. St Petersburg might be a burden upon the people of Russia but it was also a centre of authority, a protection against foreign invasion and internal disorder.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 16

“Autocracy was Russia’s peculiar institution. It was far older than Peter the Great. He had made it work more efficiently; Stalin made it work better than the Romanovs. During the nineteenth century many of the most intelligent subjects of the Tsar criticised the principles of autocracy, but for most Russians it was an acceptable form of government. The reasons for this go deep into the Russian past. The absence of clearly marked geographical frontiers tended to encourage dispersion; autocracy countered this tendency. **Autocracy expressed the religious and cultural unity of a people who continued to believe that the Orthodox form of Christianity was closer to the spirit of Jesus Christ than any other. Moscow became the heir of the authoritarianism of Byzantium. Russia had neither a reformation, nor a religious war, nor a capitalist class.** Consequently her history lacked the shape of English development - a shape which England transmitted to the United States. **English history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is in essence the record of how cohesive social classes eroded, the power of the monarchy. As each class won freedom for itself it gave an example to another class. This struggle was fought within the framework of a sovereign legal system. The idea of Law was more important than the idea of the State. The laws were the rules by which the political game was played. In the end, English development tended to reduce the State to little more than a referee. Society was everything and government was nothing:** liberty was widespread but so was inequality. **The English development was hateful to most Russians in the nineteenth century. They saw it as nothing but an excuse for the application of jungle law, and thought little of the boasted English freedom. They thought that it was merely a freedom for the strong to oppress the weak. They thought that freedom was dangerous because it gave free rein to the worst instincts of the worst men. They thought that the English system was both naive and irreligious: it failed to take into account the great fact of original sin.** Enlightened Russians realised that their country needed change. In particular, they understood the need to adapt it to the Industrial Revolution, but they wanted to do this without adopting an English type of parliamentary democracy. They thought that change should be initiated and pushed through by an enlightened autocrat. Peter the Great had modernised Russia: there seemed to be no reason why one of his nineteenth-century successors should not imitate his achievement. Russian political thought was always more attracted by the idea of equality than by that of liberty. Autocracy was alleged to create equality. All were equally the subjects of the most high Tsar. His unfettered will was more humane than any impersonal legal system. The belief in autocracy has been one of the constant features of Russian history.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 16-17

“By the beginning of the nineteenth century the structure of serfdom was complete. It was the work of the Romanov dynasty; its profounder results were active until 1917. The condition of the peasants was a tragedy for themselves, an inspiration for the conscience-stricken intelligentsia and an increasingly difficult problem to successive governments. The peasantry were Russia. They paid nearly all the taxes, they provided the food, they were the hordes of domestic servants, they died in the wars, they starved frequently and suffered always. In this great sea of village folk the buildings and civilisation of Moscow and St Petersburg reflected perhaps in the glitter of some local manor house, seemed an irrelevant intrusion. The rulers of Russia might be planning war or peace, their attention might be fixed upon Paris, Berlin, London or Manchester, but their living was being earned for them by the ploughman on the steppes and the peasant craftsman in the forests. It is not surprising that one of the great themes of nineteenth-century Russian literature is the superficiality of town life in an essentially peasant land. Tolstoy is the great master of this contrast and both in his novels and his own life constantly stressed the need for a social conscience which would place the peasant and the countryside at the centre of interest. It was, however, a part of the tragedy of nineteenth-century Russia that the condition of the peasantry could only be improved by large-scale urbanisation. It may be that those who, like Tolstoy, admired and loved the villager, did much harm by trying to preserve a picturesque way of life which the developments of the century made increasingly productive of poverty.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, Chapter 3 (The Peasants: Serfdom, Emancipation, Discontent and Revolution: 1800-1917), p. 68

“The eighteenth-century rulers of Russia had been outstandingly successful in their conduct of foreign policy. Peter the Great had established Russia upon the shores of the Gulf of Finland; his successors pushed the frontiers westward and southward. Catherine the Great occupied the whole of eastern Poland (1772-1795) and gave Russia a common frontier with Prussia and Austria. She also completed the work of Peter the Great by defeating the Turks and annexing the northern coast of the Black Sea. This task was finished in 1783. The new fortress of Sevastopol, constructed for Catherine by Sir Samuel Bentham, symbolised the fact that Russia was not confined to the Baltic alone. The Baltic proved to be no more than a window into Europe, but the Black Sea became a door through which nineteenth-century Russia hoped to dominate the eastern Mediterranean. Its ports eclipsed those of the Baltic in their commercial activities. The movement south became the most important in Russian nineteenth-century history. Turkey alone could not have halted it. Behind Turkey stood Britain, that power which was in most respects the exact antithesis of autocratic Russia. Here was one of the tragic paradoxes of the nineteenth century. Britain successfully resisted the Russian drive towards the Mediterranean; she maintained the integrity of Turkey. Then, in 1915, when by a strange reversal of fortunes Russia and Britain fought on the same side, Britain was unable to get through to her ally because Turkey stood in the way. British hostility was already foreshadowed when Catherine the Great died (1796). But the map at that date showed nothing but success for the Petrine State in the field of foreign policy.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 17-19

“Throughout Russia, the peasants concentrated upon the cultivation of grain. Rye was the staple food but wheat and barley were grown increasingly as the export market expanded during the century. The climate and soil of the centre and the north made it impossible for the peasants to satisfy even modest needs by agriculture alone. The gap was filled partly by a widespread and intensive peasant handcraft industry and partly by emigration to the new lands of the south and south-west. It was only during the nineteenth century that these new lands filled up; overpopulation was to be one of the major factors in the peasant problem. During the centuries when serfdom was growing, the exact contrary had been the case ; in fact the main reason for the growth of serfdom was to prevent the scarce labourers from drifting away towards the frontiers. South of the forest line, the soil was well suited to grain growing. But although this black earth was rich it was so wastefully farmed by hordes of peasants that its yield per acre remained substantially below that of the much poorer land of North America. None of the changes of the nineteenth century had much effect upon the productiveness of peasant agriculture. Even in 1917 the primitive *sokha*, a plough which scratched the surface of the soil rather than turning it over, was still in general use. **In 1800 there were about 34 million peasants in a total population of 36 million.** Of these about 19 ½ million were subject to private landlords and the rest were state serfs. In general terms the government, and especially Catherine II, had entered into an unwritten contract with the nobility: in return for giving up their claim to political power the nobles had been allowed to enjoy complete power over their serfs. A nobleman might own a dozen or a hundred thousand serfs. It made no difference to his power over them. He was a little autocrat within the great autocracy. The State used him as its agent for peasant affairs, its local 'gratuitous chief of police'. The landlord could make any change he liked in the agricultural arrangements of the village; he could, for example, take for his own use the valuable meadow and forest rights. He could seize the peasant's movable goods, order him to marry or not to marry, sell him away from the land without his family, take his sons and daughters into domestic service, send him to the privately owned mines in the Urals, command him to become a musician or actor. The aged and the sick could be turned out of the village; the recalcitrant could be transported to Siberia, sent into the army for twenty-five years, imprisoned or knouted – that was the customary punishment. The murder of one's serfs was prohibited by the law; but since the peasants were forbidden to complain to the officials about their lords, murder frequently occurred and went unpunished. In the forest regions the landlords forced the payment of rent (*obroh*) at an arbitrary rate which took into account the earnings of peasant craftsmen. In the steppe lands, however, where the produce of the soil was marketable, the landlords compelled their serfs to do *barshchina* or forced labour.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, Chapter 3 (The Peasants: Serfdom, Emancipation, Discontent and Revolution: 1800-1917), p. 69-71

“The foreign policy of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century was characterized by a not unnatural ambivalence. Unresolved problems of national interest, arising from earlier territorial gains, necessarily continued to drive her to further expansion. Nowhere is the truth of the saying, “The appetite grows with eating,” more clearly exemplified than in Russia's relations with Turkey. Originally purely defensive, directed at checking the destructive raids of the Crimean Tatars, Russian policy and Russian arms had under Catherine given her a wholly defensible frontier, the northern shore line of the Black Sea. The natural sequel had been her “Greek project,” designed to seat her grandson on the throne of a re-created Christian empire at Constantinople. Such futile dreams apart, the consolidation of Russian power over Little Russia and the acquisition of New Russia had laid the basis for a new national Russian interest. **The possibility of growing wheat, and the mounting demand for wheat in the West, made control of the Straits, the narrow outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, of paramount importance to Russia. It was not sufficient to secure guarantees for peaceful commerce; in an uncertain world, in which “international law” remains a fiction, only military control of the essential passage could really satisfy Russian national interests. Yet this Russian craving, natural though it might be, seemed to threaten to disturb the balance of the world. It was naturally regarded by the mistress of the seas as a special menace to her predominance. If Russia was determined to secure control of the Straits – the Bosphorus and Dardanelles – Great Britain was no less determined to prevent it. Thus was brought into focus the dominant theme of nineteenth-century diplomacy, the “cold war” waged between Britain and Russia, in which Britain persistently pursued a policy of “containment” of any Russian expansion in any quarter which England could effectively reach.** The quarrel had, of course, still wider implications. Britain had played the lion's role in destroying the power of France and in tumbling the European dictatorship of Napoleon, but this tremendous victory had not been attained single-handed. Much as Russia had owed to British subsidies, the fact remained that without the massed military might of Russia the Battle of Leipzig and the campaign around Paris in 1814 would have been impossible. There was no question that, next to Great Britain, Russia was the leading world power. It was inevitable, then, that in the very moment of triumph there should develop a strong polarity between Great Britain and Russia. Inevitable is a word at which every historian shies, but it is the inevitability of specific events, not of general trends, that chiefly gives him pause. There was no reason to be surprised that, less than six months after the abdication of Napoleon, the victorious allies, led on opposite sides by Great Britain and by Russia, should be threatening each other with war over the Polish question. Temporary community of larger interests momentarily prevented open conflict. Though Alexander's mystically conceived “Holy Alliance” was sidetracked, the Concert of Europe found expression in the Quadruple (later Quintuple) Alliance. Stronger than Russia's native expansionist tendencies was Russia's desire to preserve the status quo arrived at by the Treaty of Paris (1814) and by the Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815). Determined to preserve intact the existing regime in Russia itself, it had been only natural for Alexander I and, in large measure, for his brother Nicholas I, to wish to preserve also the existing international regime. **This was the basis for Russia's role as “the gendarme of Europe,” ready to stamp out anywhere any movement threatening the established order.**” – *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 284-285

“As the end of the century approached, Russia in her own way showed many of the signs of what in the West has come to be known as *“la fin du siecle.”* This was particularly true of domestic developments. In international developments, Russia at this time showed less clearly the stigmata of approaching catastrophe. Internal tension did not prevent Russia from continuing the expansion of her territory. Throughout the centuries, Russia has somewhat resembled an amoeba, pushing out pseudopodia less in response to internal stimuli than to absence of external resistance. In the remote Far East, so long as China remained powerful, she had been able to throw back the advance of Russian fur traders and cossacks, even despite the ambitions of Peter. In the nineteenth century, however, China's weakness was made manifest by the easy military successes of the English and the French in their imperialist pressure on the hidebound Celestial Kingdom. Taking advantage of the situation created by their threat to Peking (1858), the Russian governor-general of Eastern Siberia, N. N. Muraviev, with a few hundred men, annexed the enormous area of the left bank of the Amur. China's attempt to repudiate the treaties of Tientsin with England and France not only cost her further concessions to those powers but enabled Muraviev “Amursky” (“of the Amur”) to secure treaty confirmation of his conquest and cession as well of the extensive coastal province as far south as the port of Vladivostok, already founded by Muraviev (1860). Russia further strengthened her position in the Far East by ceding to Japan the distant Kurile Islands in exchange for the southern half of Sakhalin, close offshore (1875). In the meantime (1867), she had successfully negotiated the sale to the United States of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, for the seemingly enormous sum of \$7 million, then desperately needed by the Russian treasury. Defense of these overseas territories would have required that Russia have naval power in the Pacific. Closer to home, the period of the “Great Reforms” had also witnessed the firm establishment of Russian power over defenseless neighbors. As early as Paul's reign, some of the chieftains in the Caucasus, caught between the rival pressures of Turkey and Persia, had appealed to Russia for aid. Alexander I, in a ten-year war with Persia (1804-13), had won suzerainty over part of Georgia (the coastline was held by Turkey), Daghestan, and Azerbaijan (once briefly won by Peter). Russia's grip on the Caucasus had been strengthened by Turkey's forced cession of most of the Black Sea shore line (but not including Batum) in 1829 and by Persia's surrender of a part of Armenia (1828). The hardy mountaineers of the Caucasus, however, long gave the Russians much trouble, although their own ethnic differences, emphasized by the rugged and broken character of the region, made it difficult for them to cooperate harmoniously with each other. In 1857, the Russian viceroy, Prince Bariatsky, launched a determined attack on Shamil, a Moslem imam who had become the soul of resistance in Daghestan; by 1859, Shamil had been forced to surrender and was deported to Russia. In connection with Emancipation, the Russian government sought to bind the native chiefs, the natural leaders of the local population, to the interests of the Russian state by giving them and their principal followers specially favorable terms. The last focus of active resistance was dealt with by enforced emigration of the Cherkesses (or Circassians) from their mountain homes to assigned areas in the plains or on the seacoast; some two hundred thousand of them availed themselves of the alternative of emigrating to Turkey (1864), where numbers of them served as irregulars in the Ottoman forces under the name of bashi-bazouks. In still another contiguous area, Russia pushed out her effective frontiers. The Turco-Tatar pastoral nomads of Central Asia had once been the terror of the agricultural population of the forest zone. For centuries they had barred the steppe to Russian settlement; until 1480 they had levied tribute on Muscovy. As late as 1717, they had still been able to destroy the army sent against them by Peter the Great, although authority in Turkestan was shared by several Moslem rulers. In the nineteenth century, however, the ill-organized nomads were no match for Russia's disciplined armies, which had seriously to contend only with the rigors of the climate and with miles of arid desert. Consequently the power vacuum was gradually filled in, on much the same principle that has made it necessary for other countries constantly to expand the frontier in order to protect their existing territories. In the reigns of Alexander I and Nicholas I, the Kirghiz had been firmly subjected by establishment of chains of fortified posts as far as the Syr-Daria. Conquest of the three major khanates of Khiva, Bukhara, and Kokand was effected on the initiative of the local Russian military governors, provoked by fanatical raids of these Moslems. Tashkent, the chief commercial center of the region, was occupied in 1865; Samarkand, the sacred burial place of Timur the Lame, in 1868. In 1866 was established the office of governor-general of Turkestan; further local collisions followed. In the end, the emir of Bukhara (1868) and the khan of Khiva (1873) agreed to accept dependent status as the price of not losing their thrones altogether; the khanate of Kokand, more stubborn, was totally eliminated (1876). It remained only to reduce the semi-independent Turkmen and Uzbek tribesmen. By 1885, the Russian frontier marched with that of Afghanistan, a development which further embittered diplomatic relations with Great Britain. Particularly in 1884, when the Russian annexation of Merv provoked in London a “fit of Nervousness,” England made warlike preparations for the defense of the Khyber Pass into India, which the British navy alone could not hope to protect.”

— *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 341-343

“In addition to the new problems created by Russian advances in the Middle and Far East, two old problems, supposedly settled by Catherine the Great, reasserted themselves. One was the eternal Polish question. Alexander II, on a visit to Warsaw in 1856, had bidden the Poles forget their “senseless dreams” of national independence. Yet, in the reform atmosphere, he had permitted Polish emigres in the West and Polish exiles in Siberia to return home. The actual administration of Poland, under the authority of the viceroy, was entrusted to a Pole, Marquis Wielopolski. The Poles’ hopes were so raised that they staged numerous peaceful but dramatic demonstrations. In 1861, Alexander took the further and, as it proved, fatally provocative, step of again separating the government of the “Congress kingdom” from that of Russia: central authority was entrusted to a state council made up of Poles appointed by the ruler; local government was put in the hands of elected provincial councils. Instead of satisfying the Poles, these concessions whetted their appetite; at the same time, it divided them into two parties, the “Whites” and the “Reds.” The Whites, strong among the nobility, objected to Wielopolski’s obvious intention of seeking the support of the middle class; the Reds were dissatisfied with the inadequately democratic character of the governmental organs. Both parties refused to be content with anything less than restoration of the frontiers of 1772, before the First Partition. Wielopolski’s effort to persist in his middle course led to attempts at his assassination. In 1863, his unsuccessful effort to ease the tension by conscripting the restless urban youth proved catastrophic. On a January night, at many points in Poland and also in the Lithuanian provinces, armed bands slaughtered the Russian soldiers in their barracks. Thus was begun the second Polish rebellion. Unlike 1830, Poland had in 1863 no army, no government, no system of finance. Instead of war, the Poles could wage only a guerilla struggle, which was ruthlessly repressed. Repeated attempts of France and other Western powers (not including Prussia) to intervene diplomatically were flatly rejected; publication of Chancellor Gorchakov’s note asserting Russia’s rights produced a flood of enthusiastically patriotic addresses from virtually every element in Russia, even from the persecuted schismatics. In 1864, order was restored. The very name of Poland was wiped from the map; the “Congress kingdom” was converted into “the Vistula region” and administratively integrated into the Empire of All the Russias. Use of the Russian language was made obligatory in the schools, the courts, and for all public business. A Russian university was founded in Warsaw. The Uniate Church was ordered reunited with the Orthodox Church. To drive deeper the wedge between the Polish classes, the peasants were, even while the revolt was still burning, given specially favorable treatment in the matter of land allotments. In the Lithuanian provinces of Russia, specially vigorous efforts were made to root out the Polonizing influences that had involved western Russia also in the uprising. In the southwestern provinces of Russia, somewhat similar measures were applied. Here the victims were not Poles but Little Russians (now called Ukrainians). Since the eighteenth century, there had begun to develop a literature in the distinctive Little Russian language. This movement, like other nationalist manifestations throughout the empire, had suffered from the repressive activities of Nicholas I; the poet Shevchenko (1814-61) had been drafted into the army and sent as a private soldier to serve in the Urals. The Little Russian movement, though it refused to sympathize with the Poles, the former oppressors of the Ukraine, had links with Great Russian *narodnichestvo*. In 1863, the Minister of the Interior (the same Valuiev who had attempted to sabotage Emancipation) forbade the publication in Little Russian of “books for popular reading.” His reason was that

there has not been and cannot be any special Little Russian language, and that their dialect, used by the common people, is the Russian language, corrupted by Polish influence. . .

In 1876, more severe measures were taken, with the consequence that the Little Russian protest tended to become political instead of merely cultural.”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 343-344

“The second old problem which vexed the empire in the post-reform period was necessarily the most central problem of foreign relations for almost landlocked Russia. This was the problem of Turkey and the Straits. The way for resumption of a forward policy in this direction was opened during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71; during that crisis, no Western power was in a position to oppose Russia’s unilateral repudiation of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris of 1856. Once again Russian fortresses were to line the northern and eastern shores of the Black Sea; once again a Russian fleet, in uncontested control of that sea, might enable Russia to strike at Turkey and to support land attacks from both ends, across the Balkans and through the Caucasus. Unfortunately for Russia, the opportunity – even the necessity – for action arose before she was ready, and in a way that impeded decisive action. The army reform of 1874 could not immediately bear the fruit of heightened military efficiency, while construction of a new Black Sea fleet, hampered by financial difficulties, had been delayed. Moreover, the situation that arose in Turkey invited action in terms of rescuing “little brother” Slavs, but the Russian government could not vigorously embrace a Pan-Slav policy, not only because it would endanger her relations with Austria but because of her own attitude toward Poles and Little Russians. In 1875, the Serbs in Herzegovina rose against the Turkish tax system. While the European powers jointly urged reform on the Turkish government, the revolt spread among the Bulgar peasants (1876). Threatened also with a “Young Turk” revolt, the Porte in its despair unleashed on the Christian Bulgars the irregulars, the bashi-bazouks. The civilized world was shocked at what Gladstone dubbed the “Bulgarian atrocities”; the Powers agreed to impose reforms on Turkey, although England’s dread of Russian expansion led her to dissent. Meanwhile, the Serbs and the Montenegrins attacked the Turks; Russian volunteers rushed to aid them, while in Russia itself a ferment developed similar to that directed against the West in the Polish matter. The sultan published a Western-style constitution and informed the Powers that for him now to decree the reforms they demanded would be unconstitutional. A fresh international conference at Constantinople (January, 1877) nevertheless threatened joint intervention, in which even England expressed willingness to join. Turkey remained obdurate, and Russia declared war (April, 1877). There seemed reason to believe that this war would be no repetition of the disastrous Crimean War. England was committed to drastic reforms in Turkey; France was impotent; Austria was neutralized, this time not by gratitude, but by her secret Reichstadt agreement (1873) with Russia; Germany’s position was clearly what Bismarck later formulated in his assertion (1885) that the Balkans were “not worth the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier.” Russia was promptly joined by Rumania; thus the way was open for a direct attack across the Danube. Only the deficiencies of the Russian high command and the incompleteness of her military reforms protracted the struggle. Nevertheless, by the end of the year, the Russian armies had forced their way through the Shipka Pass across the Balkans and once more stood under the walls of Constantinople; in Asia, Kars had for the third time been taken, and Erzerum was threatened. As in the past, Russian successes alarmed England: a fleet was sent into the Sea of Marmora; as Bismarck phrased it, the conflict between the whale and the elephant seemed imminent. The Turks, however, felt constrained to accept the Russian terms, and the preliminaries of peace were signed at San Stefano early in 1878. The principal point of this treaty that was vital for Russia provided for the establishment of an autonomous Bulgaria, extending from the Danube to the Aegean and from the Black Sea westward to include Macedonia. This was in direct violation of the Reichstadt agreement with Austria. The new principality, expected to be a Russian protectorate, would give Russia her long-sought preponderance of power in the region of the Straits. England openly, Austria more cautiously, threatened Russia with war. The situation was saved by Bismarck’s offer to serve as an “honest broker.” An international congress was assembled at Berlin to consider the whole problem. The upshot was humiliating disappointment for Russia. To be sure, Russia retained some of the fruits of her victory. She recovered from her Rumanian ally the part of Bessarabia surrendered in 1856, Rumania being given the Turkish Dobrudja in exchange. Kars this time remained in the hands of Russia, which received also the seaport of Batum, though as an open, not a military, port. Bulgaria did indeed receive autonomy, but it was not the “Big” Bulgaria of which Russia had dreamed. Instead of the Bulgaria of San Stefano, the autonomous principality fronted only on the Black Sea; moreover, the autonomy of the zone south of the Balkans, known as Eastern Rumelia, was to be on a more restricted basis than that of Bulgaria proper. The furious reaction of the frustrated Russian public boded no good for the future of relations between the government and the people. Particularly distressing was the paradoxical fact that Bulgaria was given a constitution, while her protector remained an autocracy. Nor was it only in Russia that the empire’s prestige was diminished. Bulgaria soon evicted her Russian advisers (1885), while Serbia and Rumania turned for support to Austria-Hungary. In the international field, Russia was left isolated; her sullen resentment at Bismarck’s “betrayal” of her interests led that statesman to conclude a formal alliance with the Hapsburgs (1879).”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 345-346

“In the international field, Russia was left isolated; her sullen resentment at Bismarck’s “betrayal” of her interests led that statesman to conclude a formal alliance with the Hapsburgs (1879). Bismarck's genius did enable him to succeed in partially restoring the *Dreikaiserbund* (1881), that pale ghost of the one-time Concert of Europe. The agreement between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia was, however, an unstable one. Russia did not become a member of the Triple Alliance (1882), and in 1887 Bismarck was able to secure, not a renewal of the tripartite agreement, but only a separate “reinsurance” treaty with Russia. In 1889, Alexander III made his famous toast to the prince of Montenegro: “To Russia's only sincere and faithful friend.” This steadily growing isolation of Russia gradually drove her onto a new path. As normally happens when two countries are treated as pariahs by a dominant third power, France and Russia moved into ever closer relations. France could supply the capital which Russia so badly needed for industrial and especially for railway expansion; Russia had the manpower which could be poured across the German border in case of a fresh outbreak of hostilities between Germany and France. Democratic, anti-clerical, and republican France, glad to be able to sleep at night without worrying about noises along the Rhine, unquestioningly accepted the ideologically strange, politically quite natural, alliance with autocratic, Orthodox, and anti-liberal Russia. **As so often before, Russia was quite willing to receive the material benefits of Western civilization without being asked to participate spiritually;** Holy Russia seemed to have less to fear from atheist French money than from the abrupt termination of the career of Bismarck, who had so firmly believed in the necessity to “keep open the wire to St. Petersburg.” By 1894, the Dual Alliance was an accomplished fact, and the balance of power on the Continent had become uneasy. It was, however, obvious both to the Russian government and to its French military mentors that, pending reequipment of its artillery, the Russian army could not face the realities of war. Accordingly, the Russian government launched in 1898 a movement for world peace and disarmament. An international Peace Congress met at The Hague for two months in 1899 and discussed various problems. It even recommended the establishment of an international court of arbitration; its major practical consequence was to be the saving of Russia from English wrath as a result of the Dogger Bank incident of 1905. Professed addiction to world peace did not prevent Russia from approaching the brink of limited war. **In 1891, with the aid of French loans already contracted, construction of the long-planned Trans-Siberian railway was begun. In 1895, with the backing of both France and Germany, Russia exerted diplomatic pressure to force Japan to renounce the Liaotung Peninsula in southern Manchuria, which she had won in war with China.** In 1896, China agreed to allow construction of a railway across Manchuria, immensely shortening the mileage from Irkutsk to Vladivostok. The Chinese Eastern Railway and the Russo-Chinese Bank which financed it were the first fruits of French imperialism operating under the cloak of Russian power. In 1896-97, Russian attention was briefly diverted to the Straits; Russia even concluded with Austria-Hungary a secret agreement, never implemented, for division of the remaining Turkish spoils. In 1898, however, Germany’s enforced “lease” of the Kiaochow territory in the Shantung Peninsula precipitated a similar Russian lease of the Liaotung Peninsula. In her turn, ever watchful against Russian expansion, Great Britain leased Wei-Hai-Wei across the Strait from Port Arthur. Despite very considerable extension of territory and the beating down of nationalist movements within the empire, Russia's external policies failed to restore the earlier international position of the autocracy. Internally, the post-reform developments did not work out in a way favorable to maintenance of the autocratic regime. If Emancipation was not the inevitable prelude to Revolution, it did fail to solve "the peasant question" and permitted the rapid rise of a new force incompatible with the historic autocracy.”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 346-348

“In the nineteenth century most historians regarded Russia as part of Europe but it is now becoming increasingly clear that Russia is another civilization quite separate from Western Civilization. Both of these civilizations are descended from Classical Civilization, but the connection with this predecessor was made so differently that two quite different traditions came into existence. Russian traditions were derived from Byzantium directly; Western traditions were derived from the more moderate Classical Civilization indirectly, having passed through the Dark Ages when there was no state or government in the West. Russian civilization was created from three sources originally: (1) the Slav people, (2) Viking invaders from the north, and (3) the Byzantine tradition from the south. These three were fused together as the result of a common experience arising from Russia’s exposed geographical position on the western edge of a great flat-land stretching for thousands of miles to the east. This flat-land is divided horizontally into three zones of which the most southern is open plain, while the most northern is open bush and tundra. The middle zone is forest. The southern zone (or steppes) consists of two parts: the southern is a salty plain which is practically useless, while the northern part, next to the forest, is the famous black-earth region of rich agricultural soil. Unfortunately the eastern portion of this great Eurasian plain has been getting steadily drier for thousands of years, with the consequence that the Ural-Altaic-speaking peoples of central and east-central Asia, peoples like the Huns, Bulgars, Magyars, Mongols, and Turks, have pushed westward repeatedly along the steppe corridor between the Urals and the Caspian Sea, making the black-earth steppes dangerous for sedentary agricultural peoples. The Slavs first appeared more than two thousand years ago as a peaceful, evasive people, with an economy based on hunting and rudimentary agriculture, in the forests of eastern Poland. These people slowly increased in numbers, moving northeastward through the forests, mixing with the scattered Finnish hunting people who were there already. About A.D. 700 or so, the Northmen, whom we know as Vikings, came down from the Baltic Sea, by way of the rivers of eastern Europe, and eventually reached the Black Sea and attacked Constantinople. These Northmen were trying to make a way of life out of militarism, seizing booty and slaves, imposing tribute on conquered peoples, collecting furs, honey, and wax from the timid Slavs lurking in their forests, and exchanging these for the colorful products of the Byzantine south. In time the Northmen set up fortified trading posts along their river highways, notably at Novgorod in the north, at Smolensk in the center, and at Kiev in the south. They married Slav women and imposed on the rudimentary agricultural-hunting economy of the Slavs a superstructure of a tribute-collecting state with an exploitative, militaristic, commercial economy. **This created the pattern of a two-class Russian society which has continued ever since, much intensified by subsequent historical events. In time the ruling class of Russia became acquainted with Byzantine culture. They were dazzled by it, and sought to import it into their wilderness domains in the north. In this way they imposed on the Slav peoples many of the accessories of the Byzantine Empire, such as Orthodox Christianity, the Byzantine alphabet, the Byzantine calendar, the use of domed ecclesiastical architecture, the name Czar (Caesar) for their ruler, and innumerable other traits. Most important of all, they imported the Byzantine totalitarian autocracy, under which all aspects of life, including political, economic, intellectual, and religious, were regarded as departments of government, under the control of an autocratic ruler. These beliefs were part of the Greek tradition, and were based ultimately on Greek inability to distinguish between state and society. Since society includes all human activities, the Greeks had assumed that the state must include all human activities. In the days of Classical Greece this all-inclusive entity was called the *polis*, a term which meant both society and state; in the later Roman period this all-inclusive entity was called the imperium. The only difference was that the polis was sometimes (as in Pericles’s Athens about 450 B.C.) democratic, while the imperium was always a military autocracy. Both were totalitarian, so that religion and economic life were regarded as spheres of governmental activity. This totalitarian autocratic tradition was carried on to the Byzantine Empire and passed from it to the Russian state in the north and to the later Ottoman Empire in the south. In the north this Byzantine tradition combined with the experience of the Northmen to intensify the two-class structure of Slav society. In the new Slav (or Orthodox) Civilization this fusion, fitting together the Byzantine tradition and the Viking tradition, created Russia. From Byzantium came autocracy and the idea of the state as an absolute power and as a totalitarian power, as well as such important applications of these principles as the idea that the state should control thought and religion, that the Church should be a branch of the government, that law is an enactment of the state, and that the ruler is semi-divine. From the Vikings came the idea that the state is a foreign importation, based on militarism and supported by booty and tribute, that economic innovations are the function of the government, that power rather than law is the basis of social life, and that society, with its people and its property, is the private property of a foreign ruler. These concepts of the Russian system must be emphasized because they are so foreign to our own traditions. In the West, the Roman Empire (which continued in the East as the Byzantine Empire) disappeared in 476 and, although many efforts were made to revive it, there was clearly a period, about 900, when there was no empire, no state, and no public authority in the West. The state disappeared, yet society continued. So also, religious and economic life continued. This clearly showed that the state and society were not the same thing, that society was the basic entity, and that the state was a crowning, but not essential, cap to the social structure. This experience had revolutionary effects. It was discovered that man can live without a state; this became the basis of Western liberalism. It was discovered that the state, if it exists, must serve men and that it is incorrect to believe that the purpose of men is to serve the state. It was discovered that economic life, religious life, law, and private property can all exist and function effectively without a state. From this emerged *laissez-faire*, separation of Church and State, rule of law, and the sanctity of private property. In Rome, in Byzantium, and in Russia, law was regarded as an enactment of a supreme power. In the West, when no supreme power existed, it was discovered that law still existed as the body of rules which govern social life. Thus law was found by observation in the West, not enacted by autocracy as in**

the East. This meant that authority was established by law and under the law in the West, while authority was established by power and above the law in the East. The West felt that the rules of economic life were found and not enacted; that individuals had rights independent of, and even opposed to, public authority; that groups could exist, as the Church existed, by right and not by privilege, and without the need to have any charter of incorporation entitling them to exist as a group or act as a group; that groups or individuals could own property as a right and not as a privilege and that such property could not be taken by force but must be taken by established process of law. It was emphasized in the West that the way a thing was done was more important than what was done, while in the East what was done was far more significant than the way in which it was done. **There was also another basic distinction between Western Civilization and Russian Civilization. This was derived from the history of Christianity.** This new faith came into Classical Civilization from Semitic society.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 81-83

“The Slavs were subjected at first to the Viking exploitative system. These Vikings copied Byzantine culture, and did it very consciously, in their religion, in their writing, in their state, in their laws, in art, architecture, philosophy, and literature. These rulers were outsiders who innovated all the political, religious, economic, and intellectual life of the new civilization. There was no state: foreigners brought one in. There was no organized religion: one was imported from Byzantium and imposed on the Slavs. The Slav economic life was on a low level, a forest subsistence economy with hunting and rudimentary agriculture: on this the Vikings imposed an international trading system. There was no religious-philosophic outlook: the new State-Church superstructure imposed on the Slavs an outlook derived from Greek dualistic idealism. And, finally, the East never experienced a Dark Ages to show it that society is distinct from the state and more fundamental than the state. This summary brings Russian society down to about 1200. In the next six hundred years new experiences merely intensified the Russian development. These experiences arose from the fact that the new Russian society found itself caught between the population pressures of the raiders from the steppes to the east and the pressure of the advancing technology of Western Civilization. The pressure of the Ural-Altaic speakers from the eastern steppes culminated in the Mongol (Tarter) invasions after 1200. The Mongols conquered Russia and established a tribute-gathering system which continued for generations. Thus there continued to be a foreign exploiting system imposed over the Slav people. In time the Mongols made the princes of Moscow their chief tribute collectors for most of Russia. A little later the Mongols made a court of highest appeal in Moscow, so that both money and judicial cases flowed to Moscow. These continued to flow even after the princes of Moscow (1380) led the successful revolt which ejected the Mongols. As the population pressure from the East decreased, the technological pressure from the West increased (after 1500). By Western technology we mean such things as gunpowder and firearms, better agriculture, counting and public finance, sanitation, printing, and the spread of education. Russia did not get the full impact of these pressures until late, and then from secondary sources, such as Sweden and Poland, rather than from England or France. However, Russia was hammered out between the pressures from the East and those from the West. The result of this hammering was the Russian autocracy, a military, tribute-gathering machine superimposed on the Slav population. The poverty of this population made it impossible for them to get firearms or any other advantages of Western technology. Only the state had these things, but the state could afford them only by draining wealth from the people. This draining of wealth from below upward provided arms and Western technology for the rulers but kept the ruled too poor to obtain these things, so that all power was concentrated at the top. The continued pressure from the West made it impossible for the rulers to use the wealth that accumulated in their hands to finance economic improvements which might have raised the standards of living of the ruled, since this accumulation had to be used to increase Russian power rather than Russian wealth. As a consequence, pressure downward increased and the autocracy became more autocratic. In order to get a bureaucracy for the army and for government service, the landlords were given personal powers over the peasants, creating a system of serfdom in the East just at the time that medieval serfdom was disappearing in the West. Private property, personal freedom, and direct contact with the state (for taxation or for justice) were lost to the Russian serfs. The landlords were given these powers so that the landlords would be free to fight and willing to fight for Moscow or to serve in Moscow’s autocracy. By 1730 the direct pressure of the West upon Russia began to weaken somewhat because of the decline of Sweden, of Poland, and of Turkey, while Prussia was too occupied with Austria and with France to press very forcibly on Russia. Thus, the Slavs, using an adopted Western technology of a rudimentary character, were able to impose their supremacy on the peoples to the East. The peasants of Russia, seeking to escape from the pressures of serfdom in the area west of the Urals, began to flee eastward, and eventually reached the Pacific. The Russian state made every effort to stop this movement because it felt that the peasants must remain to work the land and pay taxes if the landlords were to be able to maintain the military autocracy which was considered necessary. Eventually the autocracy followed the peasants eastward, and Russian society came to occupy the whole of northern Asia. As the pressure from the East and the pressure from the West declined, the autocracy, inspired perhaps by powerful religious feelings, began to have a bad conscience toward its own people. At the same time it still sought to westernize itself. It became increasingly clear that this process of westernization could not be restricted to the autocracy itself, but must be extended downward to include the Russian people. The autocracy found, in 1812, that it could not defeat Napoleon’s army without calling on the Russian people. Its inability to defeat the Western allies in the Crimean War of 1854-1856, and the growing threat of the Central Powers after the Austro-German alliance of 1879, made it clear that Russia must be westernized, in technology if not in ideology, throughout all classes of the society, in order to survive. This meant, very specifically, that Russia had to obtain the Agricultural Revolution and industrialism; but these in turn required that ability to read and write be extended to the peasants and that the rural population be reduced and the urban population be increased. These needs, again, meant that serfdom had to be abolished and that modern sanitation had to be introduced. Thus one need led to another, so that the whole society had to be reformed. In typically Russian fashion all these things were undertaken by government action, but as one reform led to another it became a question whether the autocracy and the landed upper classes would be willing to allow the reform movement to go so far as

to jeopardize their power and privileges. For example, the abolition of serfdom made it necessary for the landed nobility to cease to regard the peasants as private property whose only contact with the state was through themselves. Similarly, industrialism and urbanism would create new social classes of bourgeoisie and workers. These new classes inevitably would make political and social demands very distasteful to the autocracy and the landed nobility. If the reforms led to demands for nationalism, how could a dynastic monarchy such as the Romanov autocracy yield to such demands without risking the loss of Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, or Armenia? As long as the desire to westernize and the bad conscience of the upper classes worked together, reform advanced. But as soon as the lower classes began to make demands, reaction appeared. On this basis the history of Russia was an alternation of reform and reaction from the eighteenth century to the Revolution of 1917. Peter the Great (1689-1725) and Catherine the Great (1762-1796) were supporters of westernization and reform. Paul I (1796-1801) was a reactionary. Alexander I (1801-1825) and Alexander II (1855-1881) were reformers, while Nicholas I (1825-1855) and Alexander III (1881-1894) were reactionaries. As a consequence of these various activities, by 1864 serfdom had been abolished, and a fairly modern system of law, of justice, and of education had been established; local government had been somewhat modernized; a fairly good financial and fiscal system had been established; and an army based on universal military service (but lacking in equipment) had been created. On the other hand, the autocracy continued, with full power in the hands of weak men, subject to all kinds of personal intrigues of the basest kind; the freed serfs had no adequate lands; the newly literate were subject to a ruthless censorship which tried to control their reading, writing, and thinking; the newly freed and newly urbanized were subject to constant police supervision; the non-Russian peoples of the empire were subjected to waves of Russification and Pan-Slavism; the judicial system and the fiscal system were administered with an arbitrary disregard of all personal rights or equity; and, in general, the autocracy was both tyrannical and weak. The first period of reform in the nineteenth century, that under Alexander I, resulted from a fusion of two factors: the "conscience-stricken gentry" and the westernizing autocracy. Alexander himself represented both factors. As a result of his reforms and those of his grandmother, Catherine the Great, even earlier, there appeared in Russia, for the first time, a new educated class which was wider than the gentry, being recruited from sons of Orthodox priests or of state officials (including army officers) and, in general, from the fringes of the autocracy and the gentry. When the autocracy became reactionary under Nicholas I, this newly educated group, with some support from the conscience-stricken gentry, formed a revolutionary group generally called the "Intelligentsia." At first this new group was pro-Western, but later it became increasingly anti-Western and "Slavophile" because of its disillusionment with the West. In general, the Westernizers argued that Russia was merely a backward and barbaric fringe of Western Civilization, that it had made no cultural contribution of its own in its past, and that it must pass through the same economic, political, and social developments as the West. The Westernizers wished to speed up these developments. The Slavophiles insisted that Russia was an entirely different civilization from Western Civilization and was much superior because it had a profound spirituality (as contrasted with Western materialism), it had a deep irrationality in intimate touch with vital forces and simple living virtues (in contrast to Western rationality, artificiality, and hypocrisy), it had its own native form of social organization, the peasant village (commune) providing a fully satisfying social and emotional life (in contrast to Western frustration of atomistic individualism in sordid cities); and that a Socialist society could be built in Russia out of the simple self-governing, cooperative peasant commune without any need to pass along the Western route marked by industrialism, bourgeoisie supremacy, or parliamentary democracy. As industrialism grew in the West, in the period 1830-1850, the Russian Westernizers like P. Y. Chaadayev (1793-1856) and Alexander Herzen (1812-1870) became increasingly disillusioned with the West, especially with its urban slums, factory system, social disorganization, middle-class money-grubbing and pettiness, its absolutist state, and its advanced weapons. Originally the Westernizers in Russia had been inspired by French thinkers, while the Slavophiles had been inspired by German thinkers like Schelling and Hegel, so that the shift from Westernizers to Slavophiles marked a shift from French to Germanic teachers. The Slavophiles supported orthodoxy and monarchy, although they were very critical of the existing Orthodox Church and of the existing autocracy. They claimed that the latter was a Germanic importation, and that the former, instead of remaining a native organic growth of Slavic spirituality, had become little more than a tool of autocracy. Instead of supporting these institutions, many Slavophiles went out into the villages to get in touch with pure Slavic spirituality and virtue in the shape of the untutored peasant. These missionaries, called "narodniki," were greeted with unconcealed suspicion and distaste by the peasants, because they were city-bred strangers, were educated, and expressed anti-Church and anti-governmental ideas. Already disillusioned with the West, the Church, and the government, and now rejected by the peasants, the Intelligentsia could find no social group on which to base a reform program. The result was the growth of nihilism and of anarchism. Nihilism was a rejection of all conventions in the name of individualism, both of these concepts understood in a Russian sense. Since man is a man and not an animal because of his individual development and growth in a society made up of conventions, the nihilist rejection of conventions served to destroy man rather than to liberate him as they expected. The destruction of conventions would not raise man to be an angel, but would lower him to be an animal. Moreover, the individual that the nihilists sought to liberate by this destruction of conventions was not what Western culture understands by the word "individual." Rather it was "humanity." The nihilists had no respect whatever for the concrete individual or for individual personality. Rather, by destroying all conventions and stripping all persons naked of all conventional distinctions, they hoped to sink everyone, and especially themselves, into the amorphous, indistinguishable mass of humanity. The nihilists were completely atheist materialist, irrational, doctrinaire, despotic, and violent. They rejected all thought of self so long as humanity suffered; they "became atheists because they could not accept a Creator Who made an evil, incomplete world full of suffering"; they rejected all thought, all art, all idealism, all conventions, because these were superficial, unnecessary luxuries and therefore evil; they rejected marriage, because it was conventional bondage on the freedom of love; they rejected private property, because it was a tool of individual oppression; some even rejected clothing as a corruption of natural innocence; they rejected vice and licentiousness as unnecessary upper-class luxuries; as Nikolai Berdyaev put it: "It is Orthodox asceticism turned inside out, and asceticism without Grace. At the base of Russian nihilism, when grasped in its purity and depth, lies the Orthodox rejection of the world . . . , the acknowledgment of the sinfulness of all riches and luxury, of all creative profusion in art and in thought.... Nihilism considers as sinful

luxury not only art, metaphysics, and spiritual values, but religion also.... Nihilism is a demand for nakedness, for the stripping of oneself of all the trappings of culture, for the annihilation of all historical traditions, for the setting free of the natural man.... The intellectual asceticism of nihilism found expression in materialism; any more subtle philosophy was proclaimed a sin.... Not to be a materialist was to be taken as a moral suspect. If you were not a materialist, then you were in favour of the enslavement of man both intellectually and politically." (N. Berdyaev, *Origin of Russian Communism* (London, Geoffrey Bles, 1948), p. 45.) This fantastic philosophy is of great significance because it prepared the ground for Bolshevism. Out of the same spiritual sickness which produced nihilism emerged anarchism. To the anarchist, as revealed by the founder of the movement, Mikhail Bakunin (1814-1876), the chief of all enslaving and needless conventionalities was the state. The discovery that the state was not identical with society, a discovery which the West had made a thousand years earlier than Russia, could have been a liberating discovery to Russia if, like the West, the Russians had been willing to accept both state and society, each in its proper place. But this was quite impossible in the Russian tradition of fanatical totalitarianism. To this tradition the totalitarian state had been found evil and must, accordingly, be completely destroyed, and replaced by the totalitarian society in which the individual could be absorbed. Anarchism was the next step after the disillusionment of the narodniki and the agitations of the nihilists. The revolutionary Intelligentsia, unable to find any social group on which to base a reform program, and convinced of the evil of all conventional establishments and of the latent perfection in the Russian masses, adopted a program of pure political direct action of the simplest kind: assassination. Merely by killing the leaders of states (not only in Russia but throughout the world), governments could be eliminated and the masses freed for social cooperation and agrarian Socialism. From this background came the assassination of Czar Alexander II in 1881, of King Humbert of Italy in 1900, of President McKinley in 1901, as well as many anarchist outrages in Russia, Spain, and Italy in the period 1890-1910. The failure of governments to disappear in the face of this terrorist agitation, especially in Russia, where the oppression of autocracy increased after 1881, led, little by little, to a fading of the Intelligentsia's faith in destructive violence as a constructive action, as well as in the satisfying peasant commune, and in the survival of natural innocence in the unthinking masses."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 86-91

"On the eve of the First World War, the Russian economy was in a very dubious state of health. As we have said, it was a patchwork affair, very much lacking in integration, very dependent on foreign and government support, racked by labor disturbances, and, what was even more threatening, by labor disturbances based on political rather than on economic motives, and shot through with all kinds of technological weaknesses and discords. As an example of the last, we might mention the fact that over half of Russia's pig iron was made with charcoal as late as 1900 and some of Russia's most promising natural resources were left unused as a result of the restrictive outlook of monopoly capitalists. The failure to develop a domestic market left costs of distribution fantastically high and left the Russian per capita consumption of almost all important commodities fantastically low. Moreover, to make matters worse, Russia as a consequence of these things was losing ground in the race of production with France, Germany, and the United States. These economic developments had profound political effects under the weak-willed Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917). For about a decade Nicholas tried to combine ruthless civil repression, economic advance, and an imperialist foreign policy in the Balkans and the Far East, with pious worldwide publicity for peace and universal disarmament, domestic distractions like anti-Semitic massacres (pogroms), forged terroristic documents, and faked terroristic attempts on the lives of high officials, including himself. This unlikely melange collapsed completely in 1905-1908. When Count Witte attempted to begin some kind of constitutional development by getting in touch with the functioning units of local government (the zemstvos, which had been effective in the famine of 1891), he was ousted from his position by an intrigue led by the murderous Minister of Interior Vyacheslav Plehve (1903). The civil head of the Orthodox Church, Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) persecuted all dissenting religions, while allowing the Orthodox Church to become enveloped in ignorance and corruption. Most Roman Catholic monasteries in Poland were confiscated, while priests of that religion were forbidden to leave their villages. In Finland construction of Lutheran churches was forbidden, and schools of this religion were taken over by the Moscow government. The Jews were persecuted, restricted to certain provinces (the Pale), excluded from most economic activities, subjected to heavy taxes (even on their religious activities), and allowed to form only ten percent of the pupils in schools (even in villages which were almost completely Jewish and where the schools were supported entirely by Jewish taxes). Hundreds of Jews were massacred and thousands of their buildings wrecked in systematic three-day pogroms tolerated and sometimes encouraged by the police. Marriages (and children) of Roman Catholic Uniates were made illegitimate. The Moslems in Asia and elsewhere were also persecuted. Every effort was made to Russify non-Russian national groups, especially on the western frontiers. The Finns, Baltic Germans, and Poles were not allowed to use their own languages in public life, and had to use Russian even in private schools and even on the primary level. Administrative autonomy in these areas, even that solemnly promised to Finland long before, was destroyed, and they were dominated by Russian police, Russian education, and the Russian Army. The peoples of these areas were subjected to military conscription more rigorously than the Russians themselves, and were Russified while in the ranks. Against the Russians themselves, unbelievable extremes of espionage, counterespionage, censorship, provocation, imprisonment without trial, and outright brutality were employed. The revolutionaries responded with similar measures crowned by assassination. No one could trust anyone else, because revolutionaries were in the police, and members of the police were in the highest ranks of the revolutionaries. Georgi Gapon, a priest secretly in the pay of the government, was encouraged to form labor unions and lead workers' agitations in order to increase the employers' dependence on the autocracy, but when, in 1905, Gapon led a mass march of workers to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the czar, they were attacked by the troops and hundreds were shot. Gapon was murdered the following year by the revolutionaries as a traitor. In order to discredit the revolutionaries, the central Police Department in St.

Petersburg "printed at the government expense violent appeals to riot" which were circulated all over the country by an organization of reactionaries. In one year (1906) the government exiled 35,000 persons without trial and executed over 600 persons under a new decree which fixed the death penalty for ordinary crimes like robbery or insults to officials. In the three years 1906-1908, 5,140 officials were killed or wounded, and 2,328 arrested persons were executed. In 1909 it was revealed that a police agent, Azeff, had been a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionaries for years and had participated in plots to murder high officials, including Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius, without warning these. The former chief of police who revealed this fact was sent to prison for doing so. Under conditions such as these no sensible government was possible and all appeals for moderation were crushed between the extremists from both sides. The defeats of Russian forces in the war with Japan in 1904-1905 brought events to a head. All dissatisfied groups began to agitate, culminating in a successful general strike in October 1905. The emperor began to offer political reforms, although what was extended one day was frequently taken back shortly after. A consultative assembly, the Duma, was established, elected on a broad suffrage but by very complicated procedures designed to reduce the democratic element. In the face of agrarian atrocities, endless strikes, and mutinies in both the army and navy, the censorship was temporarily lifted, and the first Duma met (May 1906). It had a number of able men and was dominated by two hastily organized political parties, the Cadets (somewhat left of Center) and the Octobrists (somewhat right of Center). Plans for wholesale reform were in the wind, and, when the czar's chief minister rejected such plans, he was overwhelmingly censured by the Duma."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 97-99

"The general trend of intellectual development in Russia in the years before 1914 could hardly be regarded as hopeful. To be sure, there were considerable advances in some fields such as literacy, natural science, mathematics, and economic thought, but these contributed little to any growth of moderation or to Russia's greatest intellectual need, a more integrated outlook on life. The influence of the old Orthodox religious attitude continued even in those who most emphatically rejected it. The basic attitude of the Western tradition had grown toward diversity and toleration, based on the belief that every aspect of life and of human experience and every individual has some place in the complex structure of reality if that place can only be found and that, accordingly, unity of the whole of life can be reached by way of diversity rather than by any compulsory uniformity. This idea was entirely foreign to the Russian mind. Any Russian thinker, and hordes of other Russians with no capacity for thought, were driven by an insatiable thirst to find the "key" to life and to truth. Once this "key" has been found, all other aspects of human experience must be rejected as evil, and all men must be compelled to accept that key as the whole of life in a dreadful unity of uniformity. To make matters worse, many Russian thinkers sought to analyze the complexities of human experience by polarizing these into antitheses of mutually exclusive dualisms: Westerners versus Slavophiles, individualism versus community, freedom versus fate, revolutionary versus reactionary, nature versus conventions, autocracy versus anarchy, and such. There was no logical correlation between these, so that individual thinkers frequently embraced either side of any antithesis, forming an incredible mixture of emotionally held faiths. Moreover, individual thinkers frequently shifted from one side to another, or even oscillated back and forth between the extremes of these dualisms. In the most typical Russian minds both extremes were held simultaneously, regardless of logical compatibility, in some kind of higher mystic unity beyond rational analysis. Thus, Russian thought provides us with striking examples of God-intoxicated atheists, revolutionary reactionaries, violent nonresisters, belligerent pacifists, compulsory liberators, and individualistic totalitarians. The basic characteristic of Russian thought is its extremism. This took two forms: (1) any portion of human experience to which allegiance was given became the whole truth, demanding total allegiance, all else being evil deception; and (2) every living person was expected to accept this same portion or be damned as a minion of anti-Christ. Those who embraced the state were expected to embrace it as an autocracy in which the individual had no rights, else their allegiance was not pure; those who denied the state were expected to reject it utterly by adopting anarchism. Those who became materialists had to become complete nihilists without place for any convention, ceremony, or sentiment. Those who questioned some minor aspect of the religious system were expected to become militant atheists, and if they did not take this step themselves, were driven to it by the clergy. Those who were considered to be spiritual or said they were spiritual were forgiven every kind of corruption and lechery (like Rasputin) because such material aspects were irrelevant. Those who sympathized with the oppressed were expected to bury themselves in the masses, living like them, eating like them, dressing like them, and renouncing all culture and thought (if they believed the masses lacked these things). The extremism of Russian thinkers can be seen in their attitudes toward such basic aspects of human experience as property, reason, the state, art, sex, or power. Always there was a fanatical tendency to eliminate as sinful and evil anything except the one aspect which the thinker considered to be the key to the cosmos. Alexei Khomyakov (1804-1860), a Slavophile, wanted to reject reason completely, regarding it as "the mortal sin of the West," while Fëdor Dostoevski (1821-1881) went so far in this direction that he wished to destroy all logic and all arithmetic, seeking, he said, "to free humanity from the tyranny of two plus two equals four." Many Russian thinkers, long before the Soviets, regarded all property as sinful. Others felt the same way about sex. Leo Tolstói, the great novelist and essayist (1828-1910), considered all property and all sex to be evil. Western thought, which has usually tried to find a place in the cosmos for everything and has felt that anything is acceptable in its proper place, recoils from such fanaticism. The West, for example, has rarely felt it necessary to justify the existence of art, but many thinkers in Russia (like Plato long ago) have rejected all art as evil. Tolstói, among others, had moments (as in the essay *What Is Art?* Of 1897 or *On Shakespeare and the Drama* of 1903) when he denounced most art and literature, including his own novels, as vain, irrelevant, and satanic. Similarly the West, while it has sometimes looked askance at sex and more frequently has over-emphasized it, has

generally felt that sex had a proper function in its proper place. In Russia, however, many thinkers including once again Tolstoi (The Kreutzer Sonata of 1889), have insisted that sex was evil in all places and under all circumstances, and most sinful in marriage. The disruptive effects of such ideas upon social or family life can be seen in the later years of Tolstoi's personal life, culminating in his last final hatred of his long-suffering wife whom he came to regard as the instrument of his fall from grace. But while Tolstoi praised marriage without sex, other Russians, with even greater vehemence, praised sex without marriage, regarding this social institution as an unnecessary impediment in the path of pure human impulse. In some ways we find in Tolstoi the culmination of Russian thought. He rejected all power, all violence, most art, all sex, all public authority, and all property as evil. To him the key of the universe was to be found in Christ's injunction, "Resist not evil." All other aspects of Christ's teachings except those which flow directly from this were rejected, including any belief in Christ's divinity or in a personal God. From this injunction flowed Tolstoi's ideas of nonviolence and nonresistance and his faith that only in this way could man's capacity for a spiritual love so powerful that it could solve all social problems be liberated. This idea of Tolstoi, although based on Christ's injunction, is not so much a reflection of Christianity as it is of the basic Russian assumption that any physical defeat must represent a spiritual victory, and that the latter could be achieved only through the former. Such a point of view could be held only by persons to whom all prosperity or happiness is not only irrelevant but sinful. And this point of view could be held with such fanaticism only by persons to whom life, family, or any objective gain is worthless. This is a dominant idea in all the Russian Intelligentsia, an idea going back through Plato to ancient Asia: All objective reality is of no importance except as symbols for some subjective truth. This was, of course, the point of view of the Neoplatonic thinkers of the early Christian period. It was generally the point of view of the early Christian heretics and of those Western heretics like the Cathari (Albigenses) who were derived from this Eastern philosophic position. In modern Russian thought it is well represented by Dostoevski, who while chronologically earlier than Tolstoi is spiritually later. To Dostoevski every object and every act is merely a symbol for some elusive spiritual truth. From this point of view comes an outlook which makes his characters almost incomprehensible to the average person in the Western tradition: if such a character obtains a fortune, he cries, "I am ruined!" If he is acquitted on a murder charge, or seems likely to be, he exclaims, "I am condemned," and seeks to incriminate himself in order to ensure the punishment which is so necessary for his own spiritual self-acquittal. If he deliberately misses his opponent in a duel, he has a guilty conscience, and says, "I should not have injured him thus; I should have killed him!" In each case the speaker cares nothing about property, punishment, or life. He cares only about spiritual values: asceticism, guilt, remorse, injury to one's self-respect. In the same way, the early religious thinkers, both Christian and non-Christian, regarded all objects as symbols for spiritual values, all temporal success as an inhibition on spiritual life, and felt that wealth could be obtained only by getting rid of property, life could be found only by dying (a direct quotation from Plato), eternity could be found only if time ended, and the soul could be freed only if the body were enslaved. Thus, as late as 1910 when Tolstoi died, Russia remained true to its Greek-Byzantine intellectual tradition. We have noted that Dostoevski, who lived slightly before Tolstoi, nevertheless had ideas which were chronologically in advance of Tolstoi's ideas. In fact, in many ways, Dostoevski was a precursor of the Bolsheviks. **Concentrating his attention on poverty, crime, and human misery, always seeking the real meaning behind every overt act or word, he eventually reached a position where the distinction between appearance and significance became so wide that these two were in contradiction with each other. This contradiction was really the struggle between God and the Devil in the soul of man. Since this struggle is without end, there is no solution to men's problems except to face suffering resolutely. Such suffering purges men of all artificiality and joins them together in one mass. In this mass the Russian people, because of their greater suffering and their greater spirituality, are the hope of the world and must save the world from the materialism, violence, and selfishness of Western civilization. The Russian people, on the other hand, filled with self-sacrifice, and with no allegiance to luxury or material gain, and purified by suffering which makes them the brothers of all other suffering people, will save the world by taking up the sword of righteousness against the forces of evil stemming from Europe. Constantinople will be seized, all the Slavs will be liberated, and Europe and the world will be forced into freedom by conquest, so that Moscow may become the Third Rome. Before Russia is fit to save the world in this way, however, the Russian intellectuals must merge themselves in the great mass of the suffering Russian people, and the Russian people must adopt Europe's science and technology uncontaminated by any European ideology. The blood spilled in this effort to extend Slav brotherhood to the whole world by force will aid the cause, for suffering shared will make men one.** This mystical Slav imperialism with its apocalyptic overtones was by no means uniquely Dostoevski's. It was held in a vague and implicit fashion by many Russian thinkers, and had a wide appeal to the unthinking masses. It was implied in much of the propaganda of Pan-Slavism, and became semiofficial with the growth of this propaganda after 1908. It was widespread among the Orthodox clergy, who emphasized the reign of righteousness which would follow the millennialist establishment of Moscow as the "Third Rome." It was explicitly stated in a book, *Russia and Europe*, published in 1869 by Nicholas Danilevsky (1822-1885). Such ideas, as we shall see, did not die out with the passing of the Romanov autocracy in 1917, but became even more influential, merging with the Leninist revision of Marxism to provide the ideology of Soviet Russia after 1917."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 7 (Creation of the Russian Civilization), p. 101-105

The Assassination of Czar Alexander II of Russia (March 13, 1881)



Czar Alexander II of Russia was assassinated in St. Petersburg, Russia on March 13, 1881 when Polish rebels threw a bomb toward the Czar. Czar Alexander II of Russia ruled Russia from 1855 to 1881. Czar Alexander II's son Czar Alexander III of Russia would assume the throne and use the assassination as a pretext to initiate pogroms against the Jews. Vladimir Lenin's brother Aleksandr Ilyich Ulyanov was hanged in May 1887 after he attempted to assassinate Czar Alexander III.

“In 1880 there were about five million Jews in the world. Of these only about fifteen per cent lived in western Europe. The vast majority – about seventy-five per cent – were spread throughout Russia, Poland and the Balkans, where they lived for the most part in poverty and degradation. For centuries they had been confined to their own ghettos and rural settlements, subjected to constant anti-Semitic attacks of a most brutal kind and to occasional pogroms, which reflected official prejudice and indifference. Their situation improved during the reign of the more enlightened Alexander II (1855-81); but the relief was only temporary, for the Tsar was assassinated in the streets of St. Petersburg in March 1881 and, worse still, one of his murderers was a Jew. Alexander's successor inaugurated a policy of reactionary terror designed to root out all disaffection. The old antagonism towards the Jews revived. There were fresh pogroms and anti-Semitic riots. Finally, in 1882, the notorious May Laws were promulgated, viciously restricting Jewish residence and commerce. Hundreds of thousands of families were uprooted and forced into the already overcrowded urban ghettos. Things were no better in the areas outside Russian control. The Balkan States had generally disregarded the terms of the Berlin Treaty. Jews in those countries suffered constant arson and looting while their sufferings were ignored by the authorities. It was only in Russia, however, that anti-Semitism was government policy. It was the declared objective of the rulers to squeeze the community so hard that a third of the people would die, a third would be assimilated into the Gentile population and a third would emigrate. The last of these objectives was certainly achieved. Multitudes of men, women and children made their way to Germany, Austria, France, England and the USA, often arriving with nothing more than the clothes they stood up in.”

– *Rothschild: The Wealth and Power of a Dynasty* by Derek Wilson (1988), p. 281



The Pale of Settlement in the Russian Empire

Czarina Catherine II ("The Great") of Russia established the Pale of Settlement in 1791 as a territory for Russian Jews to live. Created under pressure to rid Moscow of Jewish business competition and "evil" influence on the Russian masses, the Pale of Settlement included the territory of present-day Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Belorussia. More than 90% of Russian Jews were forced to live in the poor conditions of the Pale, which made up only 4% of imperial Russia. Still, the Jewish population in Russia grew from 1.6 million in 1820 to 5.6 million in 1910. Even within the Pale, Jews were discriminated against; they paid double taxes, were forbidden to lease land, run taverns or receive higher education. A liberalization period in the 1860s, which granted Jews some privileges was reversed under the May Laws of 1882. These laws restricted Jews in the Pale to urban areas, which were often overcrowded and offered limited economic opportunities. In addition thousands of Jews fell victim to devastating pogroms in the 1870s and 1880s. The pogroms, boycotts and other anti-Semitic depredations Jews faced in the Pale led to mass immigration to the United States (two million between 1881 and 1914) as well as a string of other developments, such as the controversial Haskalah movement, which sought to modernize Jewish culture. Zionism also took hold in the Pale. Only after the overthrow of the Czarist regime in 1917 was the Pale of Settlement abolished.

Source: <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/History/pale.html>

Imperial Russian Crown Jewels: The Baku Oil Fields



The Baku Oil Fields in the late 1890s near Baku, Russia

The Ottoman Empire conquered Baku on September 14-15, 1918 and relinquished its control of Baku to the British Empire on October 30, 1918, when the Ottoman Turkish government agreed to the Armistice of Moudros. The Armistice of Moudros ended the hostilities in the Middle Eastern theater between the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire and its allies. Azerbaijan was established as a de facto independent nation on May 28, 1918 with its capital at Baku despite British army occupation of Azerbaijan and the city of Baku. The Bolsheviks conquered Azerbaijan and the city of Baku as well as the Baku oil fields on the night of April 27-28, 1920 and immediately persecuted the oil barons living in Baku and killed an estimated 40,000 Azerbaijanis.

“Baku – already inefficient before the outbreak of violence, because of antiquated machinery – would never again be the same. And even if the agitation calmed, couldn’t it start up again? The best evidence is that the Rothschilds were already looking for a way out of Russia at this time. Disaffection became a decision to sell by 1909; active negotiations with the logical purchaser got under way two years later. The divestment took the form of a sale of Rothschild holdings – 80 percent of Bnito (the production and refining operation of Baku and Batum), the same share of the marketing company Mazout – to Royal Dutch, their partner in Standard Russe. Later it would be said that the Rothschilds had foreseen the approaching collapse of the czarist regime and moved to cut their losses. But the best student fo that time and place sees the decision to withdraw as strictly financial. To Edmond de Rothschild, the famlily’s senior oil expert, it would have made sense to let tested partners – Royal Dutch and Shell – take over the risk. Still later a Soviet historian with access to banking archives came to a similar conclusion. Oil was a growth industry, but the Rotshchids knew that they would never be able to compete with Royal Dutch expeerience in extraction and refinery operations, not to speak of its world market. Their real trade, after all, was banking. So they’d sell Russian Standard cheap (it was losing money), while they got more capital out of Bonito and Mazout than these companies were worth. The negotiations were exacting all the same, condcluded only in December 1911, the final agreement to be ratified by all parties on February 21 of the following year. In the end the family was paid in shares – 60 percent of the value of their holdings in Royal Dutch stock, 40 percent in Shell – thus giving them a sizable stake in the global operations of the merged giant, with a provision that they would continue to receive bonuses from their former Bnito fields in any year that production exceeded a given amount. They remained friends, the Rothschilds and the Dutch. In 1913, when expanding operations called for a significant increase in capital, Royal Dutch went to the French market with its new shares; the syndicate of underwriters was composed of Banque de Paris et des Pays-Bas, Credit Lyonnais, Societe Generale – and De Rothschild Freres.”

– *The French Rothschilds: The Great Banking Dynasty through Two Turbulent Centuries* by Herbert R. Lottman, p. 143-144

“It was perhaps inevitable that a powerful competitor would emerge to challenge the Nobel primacy in Baku and Russia. What Ludvig may not have expected was that the threat would come from another influential European family – the French branch of the House of Rothschild. Barons Alphonse and Edmond de Rothschild were sons of a great financial dynasty whose interests spanned investment banking, mining, oil, and railways. The brothers themselves owned refineries in Marseilles and the Adriatic port of Fiume. For them, Baku was an opportunity to buy low-cost crude to refine in Fiume – and, not so incidentally, to mount a credible challenge to Rockefeller’s dominance in Europe. From the time of their arrival in Baku in 1883, the Rothschilds always seemed to be a target of mischief. Lev Naussimbaum, the son of an oilman, wrote a probably exaggerated account of how the brothers were victimized for refusing to hire kotchis guards. The hired gunmen retaliated by committing a series of burglaries, after which the Rothschilds got the message and put them on the payroll. But even then, the best the brothers could manage was a sort of catastrophic protection plan covering major crimes; the still-disgruntled kotchis reserved the right to engage in occasional minor thievery on Rothschild property.”

– *The Oil and The Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* by Steve LeVine, p. 21

“For a time, the railroad’s success was tempered by bottlenecks that developed in the Caucasus mountains, where steep grades slowed train traffic from Baku and harsh weather sometimes halted it altogether. The main culprit was the 3,200-foot Suram Pass, so difficult a climb that two engines were required to pull just eight tankers over the crest at a time. Rapidly, crude oil awaiting shipment to Batumi was backing up in Baku. The logical fix seemed to be a pipeline, one far more ambitious than any built thus far in or around Baku. At first, Czar Alexander’s court would have none of it. The opposition there was understandable. The Crown was earning enormous tariffs from the railroad; anticipation of this windfall had been a main reason for St. Petersburg’s original keenness in the project. Neither did the czar’s avaricious agents in Baku support a pipeline. There were endless ways in which they could meddle with the movement of tanker cars on the railroad in order to generate bribes from oilmen anxious that their shipments of crude be expedited. Baku’s oilmen finally struck a compromise with the Crown, agreeing to a scaled-back pipeline project that kept the trains running at least part of the distance. In 1886, Nobel, the Rothschilds, and Zeynalabdin Tagiyev formed an alliance of convenience, using four hundred tons of Alfred Nobel’s dynamite to punch through the Suram Pass and clear a path for their pipeline. The line that they laid from Baku terminated seventy-eight miles short of Batumi, but it did surmount the mountains and speed the shipment of oil. Seventeen years later, in 1906, the line would be extended the remaining distance to the port, at a total cost of \$12 million.”

– *The Oil and The Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* by Steve LeVine, p. 23-24

“By 1901, Baku was producing a majority of the world’s oil supply, and the company that Ludvig Nobel had built was satisfying 9 percent of this global demand. It ranked among the world’s largest commercial enterprises, employing more than twelve thousand people with an annual payroll of \$2.5 million. By 1916, the company would be transporting its oil on the world’s largest private fleet.” – *The Oil and The Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* by Steve LeVine, p. 26

“The continuing instability in and around Baku in the years before and after the Russian Revolution made western oilmen understandably nervous. The port was under the control of the Bolsheviks, then the British – intervening from their outpost in Persia – then the Turks, then the British again. But through it all, oil field deals went on, and one of the most aggressive players was Henri Deterding, the gambling-minded chief executive of Royal Dutch/Shell. Short but massive and powerful, with lively black eyes and a white moustache, he was called the Napoleon of oil by his detractors. In 1913, Deterding took over the Rothschild holdings in Baku and Batumi in exchange for 2.9 million pounds’ worth of Royal Dutch stock. Thirty years earlier, Alphonse and Edmond de Rothschild, sons of one of Europe’s most influential Jewish families, had managed to establish themselves in the Russian Empire despite prohibitions against Jews owning or renting land. Now, however, the brothers were leaving, discouraged by the events in Russia and fearful of rising anti-Semitism. The transaction made the Rothschilds the largest individual shareholders in Royal Dutch. Deterding next bought prospective oil property in Grozny, the capital of the land of the unruly Chechens, located 280 miles north of Baku.”

– *The Oil and The Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* by Steve LeVine, p. 32

“But Deterding was not alone in expecting another Baku windfall. Rockefeller’s Standard Oil of New Jersey [Exxon] early in 1919 agreed to pay independent Azerbaijan \$320,000 in French francs for eleven plots of undeveloped Baku oil land. Sister company Standard Oil of New York [Mobil] negotiated a six-month virtual monopoly on Baku oil shipments. The first deal proceeded unchallenged, but not the second one – Deterding urged Britain’s Baku governor general, W.M. Thomson, to derail it. Thomson, who enjoyed veto power over decisions by the “independent” government, exercised his authority. Great Britain’s Anglo-Persian Oil Company [later renamed British Petroleum] chose to negotiate with the Bolsheviks and signed an agreement with a trade commissar to buy Grozny oil lands. To Deterding’s chagrin, the deal included Royal Dutch properties that the revolutionaries had confiscated. But the Bolshevik leadership later vetoed the agreement. Standard of Jersey commenced talks with a now-humbled Emanuel Nobel, who figured that his oil empire was lost to the revolution but sensed that a partner able to invoke American diplomatic influence might help him reclaim it.”

– *The Oil and The Glory: The Pursuit of Empire and Fortune on the Caspian Sea* by Steve LeVine, p. 33

“It was only in the 1870s that private investments were allowed to this part of the Russian Empire. Indeed, in the history of Baku oil, it is impossible not to note the investment of foreign companies, especially the Nobel family. Robert Nobel was the first of the Nobels to understand the importance of the oil industry in Baku. He convinced his brother Ludwig to invest in oil extraction. In 1873, they established the Nobel Brothers Oil Extracting Partnership. Thanks to his skillful leadership, Ludwig, a talented engineer, developed many inventions that helped modernize the technology related to oil production. The Nobel Brothers Company, for example, bought the first tanker in the Caspian Sea, in order to reduce transport expenses. Due to the success of that first tanker, the Nobel Brothers built an entire fleet of tankers, giving names to the ships such as Moses, Spinoza, and Darwin. The tankers increased the turnover of goods to such an extent that, by 1890, Baku had become the busiest port in the world. In addition, the Nobel Brothers were first to introduce railway tanks for oil transportation. In 1883, a railway was laid from Baku to Tbilisi, enabling the oil to be transported by trains. In 1897, they built a pipeline which reduced the expenses of transportation by five times and paid for itself within a single year. The pipeline, the largest in the world at that time, was built from Baku to Batumi on the Black Sea Coast, a distance of 883 kilometers. All this modernization allowed the Nobel Brothers to take the lead in the oil business by 1900, and to gain tremendous profit during the 47 years of their partnership in Azerbaijan. The Rothschild Company and Shell, lead by Samuel Markus, were also involved in oil production in Baku. More than 50 per cent of the oil extraction, and 75 per cent of the oil production commerce, were held by these three foreign companies. Oil turned Baku into a centre of world oil commerce and enabled it to exert an incredible influence on the entire economic development of the Caucasus.”

– *Energy and Security in the Caucasus* by Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 16

“During World War I, Azerbaijan was producing a major part of oil world oil supply and the usage had already expanded into motor vehicles and diesel engines of the naval vessels. It was an important commodity to the industrial countries of the world. In 1917, the fall of the Russian Empire created a serious vacuum on the Caucasian front. The desire to control Baku’s oil fields caused fierce competition among German, Turkish, and British forces. At the end of the war, the victory of the Entente states was in many respects connected with their control over the important oil regions. In fact, Azerbaijan’s oil became a major factor in the victory of 1918. According to British Prime Minister Lloyd George, though Entente states had an advantage over their rivals towards the end of the war, military operations could have been prolonged and it would have been difficult to predict the final result had the German bloc managed to gain control over the Baku oil fields. Meanwhile, the situation in Azerbaijan became more complicated due to international circumstances, especially after the defeat of Germany and Turkey in World War I. On 28 May 1918, Azerbaijan declared independence. On 30 October 1918, Turkey signed an armistice with the Entente in Mudros. In accordance with the conditions of that agreement, British troops were deployed in Azerbaijan, keeping the Azerbaijani oil industry under British control. In the summer of 1919, however, the Allied regime was dismissed and British troops withdrew from Baku. Encouraged by the British withdrawal, the threat from Soviet Russia significantly increased. On the night of 27-28 April 1920, the Russian eleventh army crossed the Azerbaijani border and reoccupied Azerbaijan’s oil fields. The Bolshevik regime benefited significantly from the wealth of Azerbaijan’s oil. Later on, Lenin wrote: ‘We all know that our industries stood idle because of lack of fuel...now we control the basis for an economy capable of supporting our industries’.”

– *Energy and Security in the Caucasus* by Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 16-17

“During World War II, Azerbaijan’s oil fields were a strategic objective in Nazi Germany’s campaign against the Soviet Union. On the eve of what came to be known as ‘The Great Patriotic War’, Baku was the cradle of the Soviet oil industry, and as such, the major supplier of oil and oil products for the Red Army. In 1940, for example, 22.2 million tons of oil were extracted from Baku which comprised nearly 72 per cent of all the oil extracted in the entire USSR. Hitler was determined to conquer Azerbaijan from the beginning of the war because the interruption of Azerbaijani oil supplies on any large scale could possibly result in the collapse of Soviet war effort. Moreover, if the German army would have captured the oil fields of Azerbaijan, Hitler was convinced that the Third Reich would be self-sufficient within its own borders, and thus invulnerable. By late July 1942, Hitler’s quest for Baku seemed well on its way to achieving his goal. The Germans had already captured the city of Rostov in North Caucasus and severed the main oil pipeline from Azerbaijan. The determination to capture Baku was so intense that the date for the final attack and seizure had been fixed – September 25, 1942. A few days prior, Hitler’s generals presented him with a large decorated cake which depicted the Caspian Sea and Baku. Documentary films show how amused Hitler was at the gesture and how he chose the most desirable piece – Baku – for himself. Fortunately, the attack never occurred, and German forces were defeated before they ever reached Azerbaijan.”

– *Energy and Security in the Caucasus* by Emmanuel Karagiannis, p. 17-18

“Many tycoons and middle-class professionals were sympathetic contributors to the Bolsheviks. Berta Nussimbaum, wife of an oil baron and mother of the writer Essad Bey, was a Bolshevik sympathizer. “My mother,” Essad Bey says, “financed Stalin’s illicit communist press with her diamonds.” It remains astonishing how the Rothschilds and other oil barons, among the richest tycoons in Europe, funded the Bolsheviks, who would ultimately destroy their interests. Alliluyev remembered these Rothschild contributions. The Rothschild managing director, David Landau, regularly contributed to Bolshevik funds, as recorded by the Okhrana – whose agents noted how, when Stalin was running the Baku Party; a Bolshevik clerk in one of the oil companies “was not active in operations but concentrated on collecting donations and got money from Landau of the Rothschilds.” It is likely that Landau met Stalin personally. Another Rothschild executive, Dr. Felix Somary, a banker with the Austrian branch of the family and later a distinguished academic, claims he was sent to Baku to settle a strike. He paid Stalin the money. The strike ended. Stalin regularly met another top businessman, Alexander Mancho, managing director of the Shibaev and Bibi-Eibat oil companies. “We often got money from Mancho for our organization,” recalls Ivan Vatssek, one of Stalin’s henchmen. “In such cases, Comrade Stalin came to me. Comrade Stalin also knew him well.” Either Mancho was a committed sympathizer or Stalin was blackmailing him, because the businessman coughed up cash on request at even the shortest notice. Stalin was also running protection-rackets and kidnappings. Many tycoons paid if they did not wish their oilfields to catch fire or “accidents” to befall their families. It is hard to differentiate donations from protection-money, because the felonies Stalin now unleashed on them included “robberies, assaults, extortion of rich families, and kidnapping their children on the streets of Baku in broad daylight and then demanding ransom in the name of some ‘revolutionary committee,’” states Sagirashvili, who knew him in Baku.” – *Young Stalin* by Simon Sebag Montefiore, p. 197

“Stalin settled Kato and Laddie, their baby, in the apartment of an oil worker and plunged himself into a life of banditry, espionage, extortion and agitation, the murkiest years of his entire career. Probably again on the Rothschild payroll, he soon moved his little family outside Baku city into a “Tartar house with a low ceiling on the Bailov Peninsula which he rented from its Turkish owner,” just above a cave, right on the seaside... Always dressed in his trademark black fedora, Stalin gave a speech on 17 June 1907, the very day he arrived, and threw himself into his editing of the two Bolshevik newspapers, *Bakinsky Proletary* and *Gudok* (Whistle); he immediately set about dominating the Party there with his brand of aggressive politics, terrorist intimidation and gangster fund-raising. Everywhere in Russia, “The reaction had triumphed, all liberties destroyed and revolutionary parties smashed,” recalls Tatiana Vulikh, but Baku, ruled as much by the oil companies and corrupt policemen as by the Tsar’s governors, followed its own rules. Stalin was on the run in Tiflis, but for a few months before Stolypin’s next crackdown he could stroll the Baku streets. Tiflis, said Stalin contemptuously, had been a parochial “marsh” but Baku “was one of the revolutionary centres of Russia,” its oil vital to the Tsar and the West, its workers a true proletariat, its streets violent and lawless. Baku, wrote Stalin, “would be my second baptism of fire.” Baku was a city of “debauchery, despotism and extravagance,” and a twilight zone of “smoke and gloom.” Its own governor called it “the most dangerous place in Russia.” For Stalin, it was the “Oil Kingdom.” – *Young Stalin* by Simon Sebag Montefiore, p. 186-187

“Baku was created by one dynasty. Swedish by origin, Russian by opportunity and international by instinct, the Nobels made their first fortune selling land mines to Tsar Nicholas I, but in 1879, the year of Baku’s first “fountain” of oil, the brothers Ludwig and Robert Nobel founded the Nobel Brothers Oil Company in the town known mainly for the ancient Zoroastrian temple where Magi priests tended their holy oil-fuelled flames. The drilling had already started; entrepreneurs struck oil in spectacular gushers. The Nobels started to buy up land particularly in what became the Black City. Another brother, Alfred, invented dynamite, but Ludwig’s invention of the oil tanker was almost as important. The French Rothschilds followed the Nobels into Baku. By the 1880s, Baron Alphonse de Rothschild’s Caspian Black Sea Oil Company was the second biggest producer – and its workers lived in the industrial township called the White City. By 1901, Baku produced half the world’s oil – and the Nobel Prize, established that year, was funded on its profits.” – *Young Stalin* by Simon Sebag Montefiore, p. 187

The breakaway republics of Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Nagorno-Karabakh within the Caucasus region (after August 2008)



A map of Azerbaijan (including the city of Baku), Armenia, Georgia, and the disputed territories



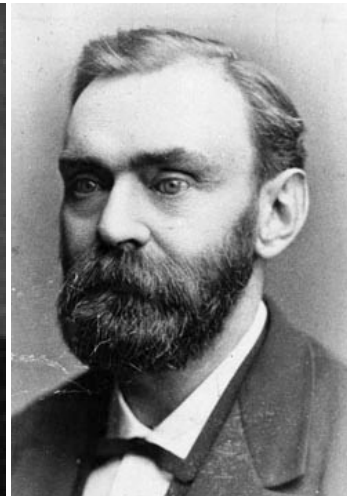
Map of Azerbaijan and the southern Caucasus region in 1918 during World War I



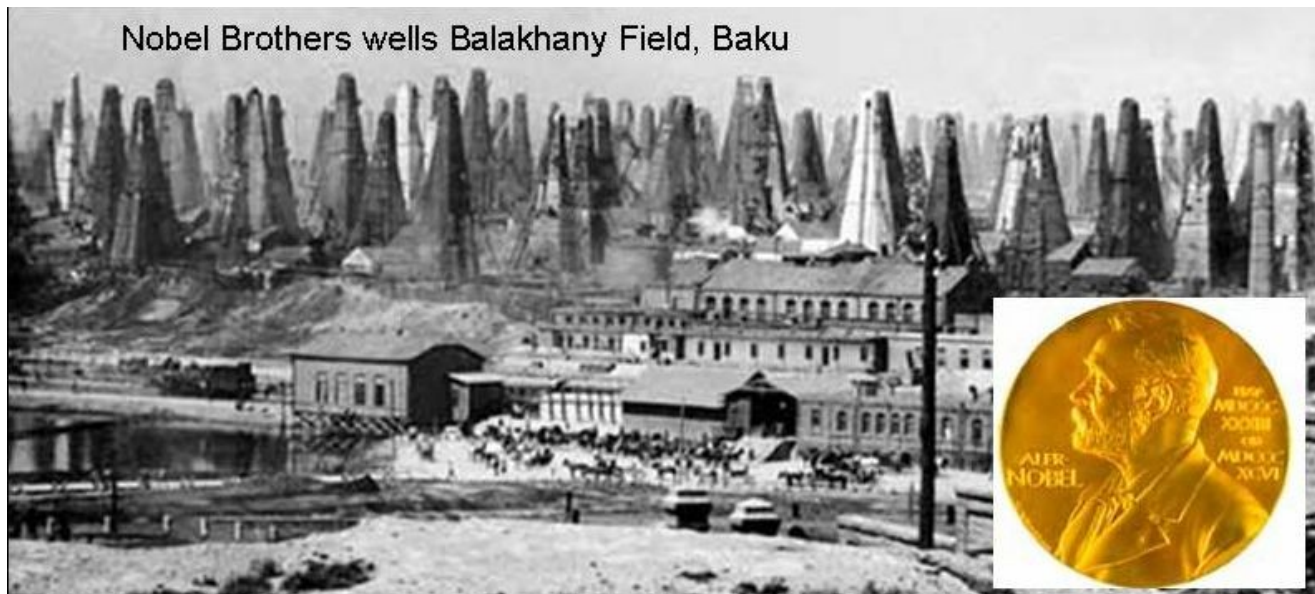
Portrait by the artist Georges Becker of the coronation of Czar Alexander III and Empress Maria Fyodorovna, which took place on May 27, 1883 at the Uspensky Sobor Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. On the left of the dais can be seen his young son and heir, the Tsarevich Nicholas, and behind Nicholas can be seen a young Grand Duke George.



Czar Alexander II of Russia (left), who ruled Russia from March 2, 1855 until his death by assassination on March 13, 1881, and his son Czar Alexander III of Russia, who ruled Russia from March 13, 1881 until his death on November 1, 1894, allowed the Nobels and the Rothschilds to acquire oil in Baku, an ancient city located on the Caspian Sea.



The Nobel Brothers, left to right: Robert Nobel (1829-1896), Ludwig Nobel (1831-1888), and Alfred Nobel (1833-1896)



Alfred Nobel was a shareholder of the Nobel brothers' oil company in Baku, Russia who invented the dynamite and established the Nobel Prizes. Ludwig Nobel invented the oil tanker ship.

“In the end, Count Sergei Witte, the Russian finance minister, spiked the scheme for a grand alliance of Standard Oil with the Nobels and Rothschilds...All the while, Russia kept pumping crude oil and by the late 1890s briefly overtook the United States in oil production, even though Standard Oil handily eclipsed it in refining....In 1884, Dutch drillers began prospecting for oil in Sumatra and six years later received a royal charter to exploit Dutch East Indian reserves, christening their company Royal Dutch. Meanwhile, another aggressive contender waited in the wings. In 1891, the enterprising London merchant Marcus Samuel signed a contract with the Rothschilds to market their kerosene in the Far East. Samuel used the Suez Canal to speed the export of Russian kerosene to Asian markets. Oil had taken four months to travel from New York to the Far East but now reached it from Batumi in a month. Even though Samuel designed a custom-made bulk tanker, the *Murex*, to conform to the canal's strict requirements, Standard Oil hired London solicitors to sow doubts about the project, spreading nasty rumors about a “powerful group of financiers and merchants” under “Hebrew influence” who planned to take tankers through the canal. Rockefeller later ranted against “our Asiatic competitors controlled by Jewish men who cry ‘Wolf! Wolf! Standard Oil Company!’” and keep moving in and getting control of markets.”... Warding off this verbal sabotage, Samuel managed to defeat Standard Oil decisively, and his trademark red oilcans – in contrast to Standard's blue cans – soon became known throughout Asia. By 1892, with oil production booming in Burma and Java, Standard Oil belatedly recognized the need for concerted action in Asian markets. It tried in vain to buy the business of both Royal Dutch and Marcus Samuel, who renamed his company Shell Transport and Trading Company in 1897 to honor his family's old seashell-box business. Standard even stooped to trading for Russian kerosene in order to serve better its Asian customers. It finally set up a series of Asian stations and assigned a small army of agents to Shanghai, Calcutta, Bombay, Yokohama, Kobe, Nagasaki, and Singapore. These operatives sold Standard kerosene in tin cans with wooden frames because Asian customers recycled the tin as roofing and turned the wooden cases into household objects. For all these smart marketing ploys, Standard Oil was forced to coexist with Royal Dutch and Shell, which merged to create a rival empire in the early 1900s.”

– *Titan: The Life of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.* by Ron Chernow, p. 248-249



The information card on Georgian-born Russian Bolshevik-Communist terrorist and alleged Rothschild agent Josef Stalin (December 18, 1878-March 5, 1953), from the files of the Tsarist secret police in St. Petersburg, Russia. Josef Stalin’s real name was Iosif Vissarionovich Dzhughashvili.

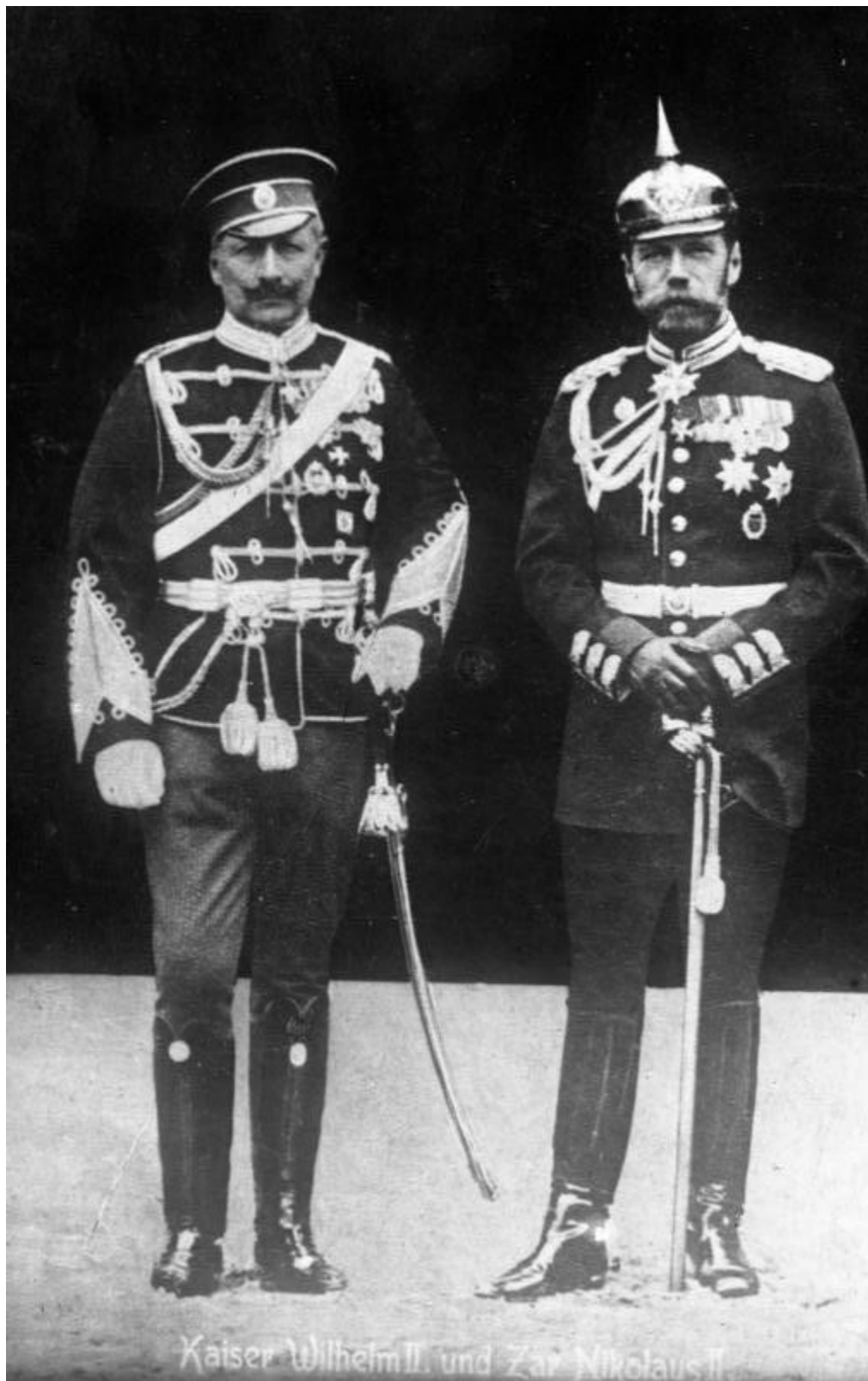


Baron Alphonse de Rothschild (left, February 1, 1827-May 26, 1905) and his younger brother Edmond de Rothschild (August 19, 1845-November 2, 1934) were the sons of Baron James de Rothschild (1792-1868). Baron James de Rothschild was the brother of Nathan Meyer Rothschild and the son of Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812), the founder and “godfather” of the Rothschild Dynasty.

“The Allied cause had floated to victory upon a wave of oil.”
 – Lord Curzon, at a victory banquet in London on November 18, 1918



Photo of Tsar Nicholas II of Russia (left) and Prince George of Great Britain (later King George V) pose for a portrait in London in circa 1905.



Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany (left) wears a Russian army uniform while Czar Nicholas II of Russia wears a German army uniform during a group portrait taken in circa 1905. (German Federal Archives)

Russo-Japanese War (February 1904-September 1905)



Battle of Port Arthur: Print shows, in the foreground, a Russian battleship exploding under bombardment from Japanese battleships; a line of Japanese battleships, positioned on the right, fire on a line of Russian battleships on the left, in a surprise naval assault on the Russian fleet at the Battle of Port Arthur (Lüshun) in the Russo-Japanese War (日露戦争, *Nichi-Ro Sensō*) on February 8-9, 1904. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))

Japan issued a declaration of war on February 8, 1904; however, three hours before Japan's declaration of war was received by the Russian government in St. Petersburg, the Imperial Japanese Navy attacked the Russian Far East Fleet at Port Arthur during a daring night raid conducted by Admiral Heihachiro Togo. The Imperial Japanese Navy engaged in another surprise attack on nearly 38 years later at Pearl Harbor. Japan acquired the southern half of the Sakhalin Island from Russia and the Chinese port of Port Arthur from Russia at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, which began on February 8, 1904 and ended on September 5, 1905.



EPISODE DE LA BATAILLE DE MUKDEN
Résistance acharnée des Russes, abrités par des Cadavres de Soldats japonais

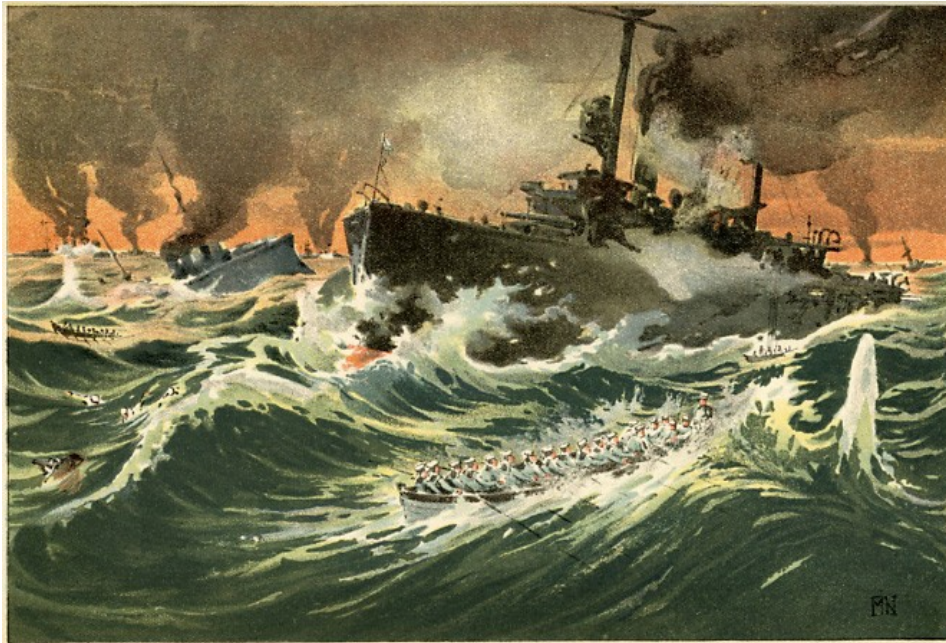
Battle of Mukden: The Imperial Japanese Army attack the Russian Army during the Battle of Mukden that lasted from February 20, 1905 to March 10, 1905. The Imperial Japanese Army routed the Russian Army at the Battle of Mukden and occupied the city of Mukden on March 10, 1905.



Imperial Japanese Army General Maresuke Nogori (second row, second from left) and the Russian Army General Anatoly Mikhailovich Stoessel (second row, second from right) pose for a group portrait after the surrender of the Russian forces in Port Arthur (Japanese: Ryojun; Chinese: Lushun) on January 2, 1905. The Siege of Port Arthur lasted from August 1, 1904 to January 2, 1905. The Imperial Japanese military suffered 94,000-110,000 casualties while the Russian military suffered 15,000 casualties. Russian Army General Anatoly Mikhailovich Stoessel was court-martialed and sentenced to death in 1908 for surrendering Port Arthur; however, Czar Nicholas II of Russia pardoned him in 1909 and allowed the general to continue his military service.



Imperial Japanese Army soldiers cross the Yalu River into Manchuria (China) in April 1904. The Imperial Japanese Army defeated the Russian Army at the Battle of Yalu River in April 1904.



The Naval Battle at the Sea of Japan on the 27th May.



Left: The Imperial Japanese Navy defeats the Russian Navy at the Battle of Tsushima on May 27-28, 1905.

Right: Admiral Heihachiro Togo, who was the commander of the Japanese naval fleet during the Battle of Tsushima, appears on the front cover of the November 8, 1926 edition of *Time* magazine.



Kwantung (関東) Prefectural Office in Dairen (Dalian)



Dairen City Hall in Dairen (Dalian, 大連), Kwantung Leased Territory



A view of the harbor and town at Lushun (旅順), formerly Port Arthur and Ryojun, from an old Japanese fortification.



Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia (the future Czar Nicholas II of Russia) rides in a rickshaw during his visit to Nagasaki, Japan in 1891. Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia visited Kyoto, Japan in May 1891. **Japanese policeman Tsuda Sanzō (1855-1891) attempted to assassinate Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia with a sword on May 11, 1891; the assassination attempt, known as the Otsu Incident, occurred near Kyoto. Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia was left with a scar on the right side of his forehead.** Emperor Meiji of Japan visited Tsesarevich Nicholas of Russia aboard a Russian warship in Kobe harbor shortly after the failed assassination attempt. Czar Nicholas II of Russia assumed the throne on November 1, 1894. (Source: Nagasaki City Library Archives)



Japanese policeman Tsuda Sanzo, perpetrator of the Otsu Incident

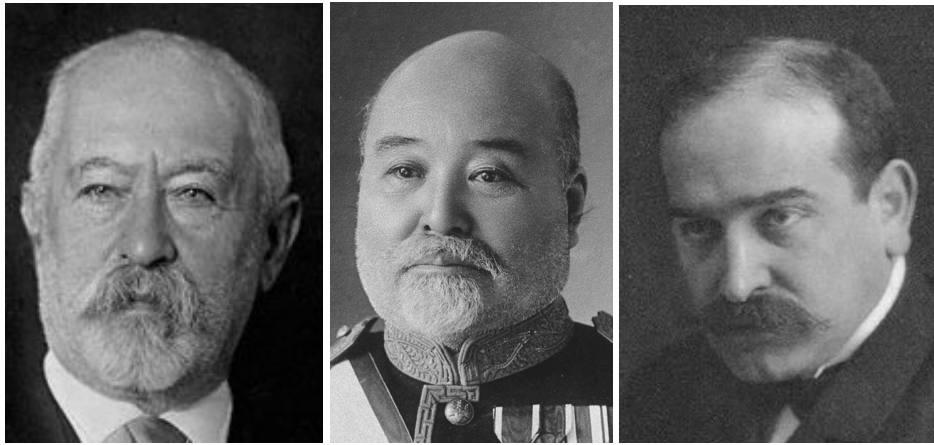


Tsarevich Nicholas of Russia (center, later Czar Nicholas II of Russia) appears with Crown Prince of Siam Maha Vajirunhis (left) and King Chulalongkorn of Siam (right) during his visit to Bangkok, Siam [Thailand] in March 1891. King Chulalongkorn of Siam governed Siam from October 1, 1868 until his death on October 23, 1910.



Prince George of Greece and Tsarevich Nicholas Alexandrovich of Russia ride in their jinrikishas in 1891.

Jewish Financial Intrigue? Jacob Schiff, Max Warburg, and the Russo-Japanese War



Left to right: Jacob H. Schiff, Korekiyo Takahashi, and Max Warburg

“The byzantine financial intrigues of the early 1900s bound Jewish bankers tightly to the state. The diatribes against Jewish bankers actually stood reality on its head, for they didn’t exploit Germany so much as serve its imperial escapades to a fault. This very intimacy with the government would make it hard for them to react later on when persecution and terror came from the state itself. The Kuhn, Loeb connection also implicated M.M. Warburg in more political work. Outraged by the pogroms against Russian Jews, [Jacob] Schiff made it a point of honor to finance Japan in its 1904-05 war against Russia and even paid for distribution of anti-czarist propaganda to Russian prisoners. In spring 1904, he shocked Japan’s financial commissioner, Baron Korekiyo Takahashi, by volunteering to underwrite half the ten-million-pound loan sought by the Imperial Japanese Government in London and New York. This first of five major Kuhn, Loeb loans to Japan was approved by King Edward VII at a luncheon with Schiff and Sir Ernest Cassel. When Japan was ready for a third loan in 1905, Schiff thought New York was saturated with Japanese bonds and asked Max [Warburg] to open a German market. To ensure that such a step conformed to German policy, Max remembered, “I did what every upstanding banker has to do in such case, I went to the Foreign Ministry in Berlin.” The Krupp firm had warned the Foreign Office that Germany would lose munitions contracts if the third Japanese loan were placed entirely in New York and London. So Under-Secretary of State Arthur Zimmermann endorsed the move and authorized Max to negotiate with Japan. Before proceeding with his second Japanese loan, Max met the Kaiser aboard his yacht to get his official imprimatur. This second issue was ten times oversubscribed, strengthening Japan’s hand at the Portsmouth peace conference. That Max suddenly managed a major strategic transaction was a stunning achievement for a firm that just a few years earlier had been a provincial power. Max owed this breakthrough to his brothers’ presence at Kuhn, Loeb, but he had ably exploited the opportunity. He negotiated the first loan in London with Korekiyo Takahashi, later Japanese finance minister and prime minister. **Takahashi never forgot the favor, later telling Max, if “I have distinguished myself in any way in my life, it is, to my great appreciation, due to your goodwill and friendship which you were kind enough to extend to me in old times.” After the war with Russia, Takahashi visited Hamburg, and in 1906 [Jacob] Schiff visited Japan. Schiff had a rare private lunch with the Mikado at the Imperial Palace, where he was decorated with the Order of the Rising Sun.** At one dinner, he sat beside Takahashi’s teenage daughter, Wakiko, and casually invited her to New York, but Takahashi took the invitation quite literally. To Schiff’s astonishment, Wakiko ended up going back with him and living with the Schiffs for three years.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 110-111

“Because the House of Mitsui, an ancient Japanese dynasty, had opened a Hamburg branch, family members periodically dropped in on the Warburgs. Once Baron Mitsui came to dinner and, as he rambled on about labor relations in Japanese, Max mischievously learned over and whispered to Charlotte that the baron wanted to know if Max’s son, Eric, would marry his daughter. On another visit, Baron Mitsui and his partner, Takuma Dan, asked how the Warburgs kept peace in the family. They told Max and Carl Melchior about battles inside the Mitsui clan and asked how to stop them. Max replied that the Warburgs quarreled as much as any family. He and Melchior suggested that Mitsui divide its operations into separate banking, shipping, insurance, and export companies, each supervised by a different family member who then reported to a central firm. In this way, Max took credit for suggesting to the Japanese the *zaibatsu* or conglomerate structure that would dominate their economy. In gratitude, Mitsui sent Max a wax Japanese general in a casket.” – *The Warburgs* by Ron Chernow, p. 111

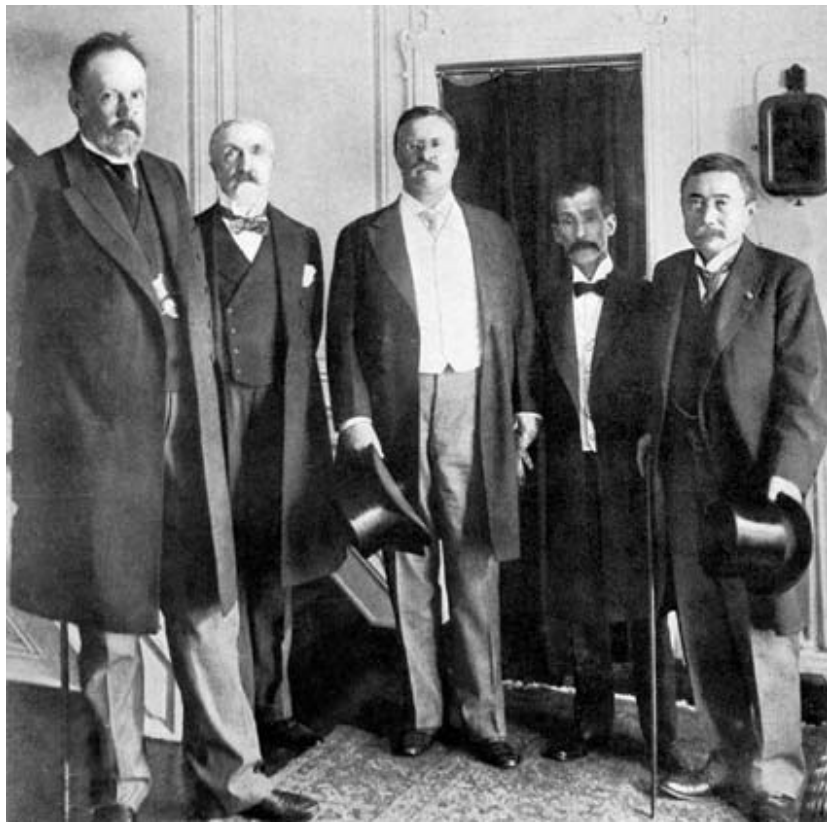
TAFT, WILLIAM H. - AS SECY OF WAR



Copyright 1905 By Burr McIntosh

Leaving the dock at Yokohama.

U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft speaks with Japanese dignitaries while leaving the dock at Yokohama, Japan in July 1905. Secretary of War William Howard Taft met with Taro Katsura, the Prime Minister of Japan, in Tokyo, Japan on July 27, 1905. The Taft-Katsura Memorandum (commonly called the Taft-Katsura Agreement) consists of notes containing portions of a long, confidential conversation between Japanese Prime Minister Taro Katsura and U.S. Secretary of War William Howard Taft held in Tokyo, Japan on July 27, 1905. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



U.S. President Theodore Roosevelt (center) meets with Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs Jutarō Komura (LL.B. Harvard 1878, second from right), Japanese Minister to the U.S. Kogoro Takahira (right), Russian envoy M. Sergius Witte, and Russian Ambassador to the U.S. Baron Rosen at the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth in Portsmouth, New Hampshire on September 5, 1905. Japan acquired Port Arthur (later renamed Kwantung) and southern portion of Sakhalin Island from Russia in a peace treaty.



American, Russian, and Japanese envoys pose for a group portrait at the Portsmouth Treaty Reception in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, U.S.A. in September 1905. Dartmouth College is located in Hanover, New Hampshire, U.S.A.

“The forward policy of Russia in the Far East under Nicholas II had, as earlier noted, owed its drive to the interests of French investment rather than of business opportunities for Russian capitalists. Russian acquisition of Port Arthur had, however, alarmed Great Britain and offended Japan; their answer was the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902. Faced with this development, Russia made an agreement with China, promising to withdraw from Manchuria the troops she had poured in during the Boxer Rebellion (1900). It was at this juncture that the experienced policeman, Pleve, succeeded to the Ministry of the Interior, in which post he soon was able to overreach the influence of the cautious Witte. Pleve was not averse to a “little war,” in the hope that some glorious bloodletting would relieve tensions at home. In addition, a powerful court clique, influenced by the spectacular Bezobrazov, was tempted by the possibilities of lucrative return by exploiting the resources of the area. Not content with Manchuria, which Japan was willing to concede as a Russian sphere of interest, an attempt was made to extend operations to the timber and mineral potentialities of Korea, which Japan regarded as definitely within her sphere of expansion. After almost a year of negotiations, failing to receive a satisfactory reply to her proposals, Japan broke off diplomatic relations with Russia (February 5, 1904) and launched a sudden attack on Russian warships at Chemulpo and Port Arthur (February 9). Though the physical damage done by Japanese torpedoes was not very great, the psychological effect paralyzed the Russian navy, despite the courage of some of its admirals. For Russia, the war in the main resolved itself into the problem of maintaining and supplying an army at the end of over 5,500 miles (Moscow to Vladivostok) of single-track railway, still not quite completed. The initiative could not be denied to the Japanese. General Kuropatkin’s land forces, badly served by military intelligence, suffered repeated defeats in detail. The Japanese fleet suffered heavily from mines, but efforts of successive Russian admirals to use their superior fighting strength were foiled by their own deaths in battles. Besieged by land, Port Arthur was surrendered (January 1, 1905). The ill-assorted Russian Baltic fleet had been sent in October, 1904, to make the long voyage around Africa, without possibilities of adequate refueling or of cleaning the ships’ bottoms before going into action. In its passage across the North Sea, it opened fire on the English Dogger Bank fishing fleet, which it mistook for Japanese torpedo boats (October 21), and war with Great Britain was narrowly averted by international arbitration. The fleet reached the China Sea seven months later, in no condition either for fight or for flight; intercepted by Admiral Togo in the Strait of Tsushima (May 27-28, 1905), it was annihilated. Meanwhile, Kuropatkin had been defeated, though not routed, in a fifteen-day battle before Mukden. Japan’s victories were won at the price of financial exhaustion and extremely heavy sacrifice of lives. Russia, financed by French loans, might have continued the struggle, but the alarming state of affairs at home boded ill for the success of even the most heroic efforts. Both sides therefore accepted an American invitation, issued June 8, to discuss peace at Portsmouth, New Hampshire; the idea had been suggested to the tsar by the German Kaiser on June 3. After three weeks of negotiations, during which Witte obdurately refused to consider payment of an indemnity, the Japanese suddenly accepted his offer (August 29) of half the island of Sakhalin in lieu of cash. The terms of the treaty signed at Portsmouth (September 5) surrendered to Japan the Liaotung Peninsula, with Port Arthur and Dalny. Russia agreed to evacuate Manchuria and recognized Japan’s special position in Korea. Witte was rewarded by being made a Count; despite general relief at escape from this foolish war, Witte was frequently referred to thereafter as “Count of Portsmouth” or “Count Half-Sakhalin.””

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 378-379



KEY TO RECEPTION GROUP OF JAPAN-RUSSIA ENVOYS.

RUSSIANS.

8. M. Sergius Witte, Senior Plenipotentiary; President of the Committee of Ministers.
7. Baron Rosen, Junior Plenipotentiary; Russian Ambassador at Washington.
6. Prof. Theodore de Martens, Delegate from Russian Foreign Office.
4. Gen. Nicholas Ermoloff, Delegate from Russian War Office.
5. M. Ivan Chipoff, Delegate from the Russian Ministry of Finance; Director of the Treasury Department.
19. M. George Plancon
21. M. Ivan Korostovitz
18. M. Constantine Nabokoff
2. Prince Nicholas Kudasheff
3. Col. Vladimir Samoiloff, Former Military Attaché at Tokio.
20. M. Gregory Vilenkin, Financial Agent of the Russian Embassy at Washington.
17. M. Constantine Berg
1. M. Michael Batcheff

of the Russian
Foreign Office
of the Russo-Chinese Bank; attaches to M. Chipoff

AMERICANS.

10. Hon. John McLane, Governor of New Hampshire.
9. Hon. Herbert H. D. Peirce, Assistant Secretary of State.
56. Col. Charles S. Bromwell, U. S. A., Aide to President Roosevelt.
55. Adj.-Gen. A. D. Ayling.
53. Insp.-Gen. George D. Waldron.
47. Judge-Advocate Gen. Daniel C. Remich.
48. Quartermaster-Gen. William F. Thayer.
52. Commissary-Gen. Frank E. Kaley.
45. Col. Frederick J. Shepard, Senior Aide-de-Camp.
51. Col. Clement J. Woodward, Aide-de-Camp.
50. Col. William P. Straw, Aide-de-Camp.
46. Col. A. Melvin Foss, Aide-de-Camp.
42. Col. George E. Danforth, Aide-de-Camp.
43. Col. John H. Bartlett, Aide-de-Camp.
40. Col. Edwin O. Bean, Aide-de-Camp.
41. Col. Henry W. Anderson, Aide-de-Camp.
49. Col. William E. Storer, Aide-de-Camp.
30. Hon. Edward N. Pearson, Secretary of State.
39. Councillor Fred S. Towle.
22. Councillor Charles M. Floyd.
37. Councillor J. Woodbury Howard.
33. Councillor Edward G. Leach.
32. Councillor Charles H. Greenleaf.
38. U. S. Senator Jacob H. Gallinger.
36. U. S. Senator Henry E. Burnham.
35. Congressman Cyrus A. Sulloway.
34. Congressman Frank D. Currier.
16. Judge Calvin Page.
31. Hon. William E. Marvin, Mayor of Portsmouth.
54. Mr. George H. Moses, Secretary to Governor McLane.
44. Frank H. Godfrey, Governor's Color-bearer.

JAPANESE.

11. Baron Jutaro Komura, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Special Plenipotentiary.
12. Mr. Kogoro Takahira, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington and Special Plenipotentiary.
13. Mr. Henry Willard Denison, Legal Adviser to the Department of Foreign Affairs.
14. Mr. Ainauro Sato, Minister Resident.
15. Mr. Enjiro Yamaza, Director of Political Bureau of the Department of Foreign Affairs.
28. Mr. Mineichiro Adatci, First Secretary of Legation and Councillor to the Department of Foreign Affairs.
26. Col. Kōchiro Tachibana, Military Attaché to Japanese Legation in Washington.
24. Mr. Kentaro Ochiai, Second Secretary of Japanese Legation at Paris.
25. Commander Isamu Takeshita, Naval Attaché to Japanese Legation in Washington.
23. Mr. Kumataru Honda, Secretary to the Department of Foreign Affairs and Private Secretary to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.
27. Mr. Masanao Hanihara, Third Secretary of Japanese Legation in Washington.
29. Mr. Kotaro Konishi, Attaché to Legation.

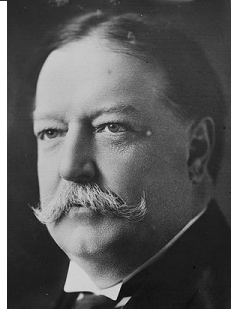
Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War



Ellis Henry Roberts
B.A. Yale 1850
Treasurer of the United States (1897-1905)



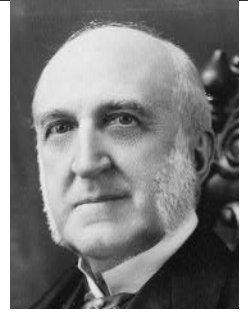
Henry Waters Taft
B.A. Yale 1880
Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [law firm in New York City] (1899-1945)



William Howard Taft
B.A. Yale 1878
U.S. Secretary of War (February 1, 1904-June 30, 1908)



George P. Wetmore
B.A. Yale 1867
U.S. Senator (R-Rhode Island, 1895-1907, 1908-1913)



Chauncey M. Depew
B.A. Yale 1856
U.S. Senator (R-New York, 1899-1911)



David Josiah Brewer
B.A. Yale 1856
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1889-1910)



Frank B. Brandegee
B.A. Yale 1885
U.S. Congressman R-Conn., 1902-1905)



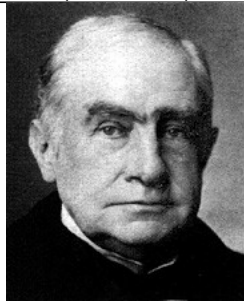
Francis Burton Harrison
(B.A. Yale 1895
U.S. Congressman (D-New York, 1903-1905, 1907-1913)



John Dalzell
B.A. Yale 1865
U.S. Congressman (R-Penn., 1887-1913)



Charles Newell Fowler
B.A. Yale 1876
U.S. Congressman (R-New Jersey, 1895-1911)



Henry Billings Brown
B.A. Yale 1856
Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1891-1906)



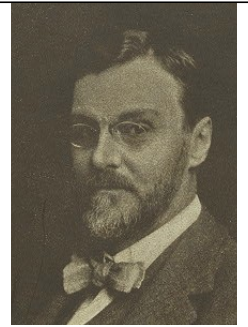
LeBaron Bradford Colt
B.A. Yale 1868
Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit [Boston] (1884-1913)



William K. Townsend
B.A. Yale 1871
Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit [New York City] (1902-1907)



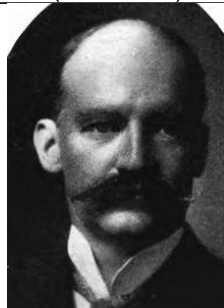
Otto T. Bannard
B.A. Yale 1876
President of New York Trust Co. (1904-1916)



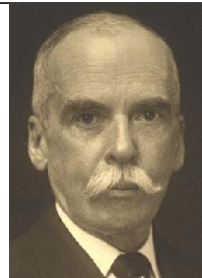
Robert Weeks de Forest
B.A. Yale 1870
General Counsel of Central Railroad of New Jersey (1874-1924)



Lloyd Wheaton Bowers
B.A. Yale 1879
General Counsel of Chicago & Northwestern Railway Co. (1893-1909)



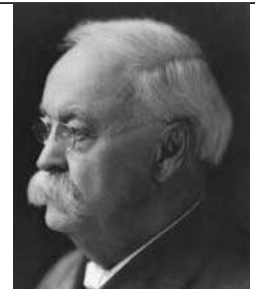
James Mulford Townsend
B.A. Yale 1874
General Counsel of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Co. (1903-1913)



John William Sterling
B.A. Yale 1864
Co-Founder of Shearman & Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1873-1918)



Arthur Twining Hadley
B.A. Yale 1876
President of Yale University (1899-1921)



Cyrus Northrop
B.A. Yale 1857
President of University of Minnesota (1884-1911)

Yale University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Government Officials:

William Howard Taft (B.A. 1878, S&B 1878) – U.S. Secretary of War (February 1, 1904-June 30, 1908)
Henry M. Hoyt, Jr. (B.A. 1878, S&K 1878) – Solicitor General of the United States (1903-1909)
Ellis Henry Roberts (B.A. 1850, S&B 1850) – Treasurer of the United States (1897-1905)
William Torrey Harris (B.A. 1858) – U.S. Commissioner of Education (1889-1906)
Herbert Knox Smith (B.A. 1891) – U.S. Deputy Commissioner of Corporations, U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor (1903-1907)
John Green Brady (B.A. 1874) – Governor of the Territory of Alaska (1897-1906)
Victor H. Metcalf (LL.B. 1876) – U.S. Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1904-1906); U.S. Congressman (R-California, 1899-1904)
Irwin B. Laughlin (B.A. 1893, S&K 1893) – Second Secretary of the American Legation at Tokyo, Japan (1905-1906); Private Secretary to the U.S. Minister to Japan (1903-1905)
Herbert Wolcott Bowen (B.A. 1878) – U.S. Minister to Venezuela (1901-1905)
William Harrison Bradley (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – U.S. Consul in Manchester, England (1903-1905)
William Williams (B.A. 1884) – U.S. Commissioner of Immigration for the Port of New York at Ellis Island (1902-1905, 1909-1913)
Morgan Hawley Beach (B.A. 1882, S&K 1882) – U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia (1903-1905)

Fred Thomas Dubois (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – U.S. Senator (R, D-Idaho, 1891-1897, 1901-1907)
George Peabody Wetmore (B.A. 1867, S&B 1867) – U.S. Senator (R-Rhode Island, 1895-1907, 1908-1913)
Chauncey M. Depew (B.A. 1856, S&B 1856) – U.S. Senator (R-New York, 1899-1911)
Alfred B. Kittredge (B.A. 1882, LL.B. 1885) – U.S. Senator (R-South Dakota, 1901-1909)
Francis Newlands (B.A. 1859) – U.S. Senator (D-Nevada, 1903-1917)
John Dalzell (B.A. 1865, S&K 1865) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Pennsylvania, 1887-1913)
Thomas Hedge (B.A. 1867, S&B 1867) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Iowa, 1899-1907)
Charles Newell Fowler (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-New Jersey, 1895-1911)
John R. Thayer (B.A. 1869) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-Massachusetts, 1899-1905)
Frank Bosworth Brandegee (B.A. 1885, S&B 1885) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (R-Connecticut, 1902-1905)
Francis Burton Harrison (B.A. 1895, S&B 1895) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (D-New York, 1903-1905, 1907-1913)

David Josiah Brewer (B.A. 1856) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1889-1910)
Henry Billings Brown (B.A. 1856) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1891-1906)
LeBaron Bradford Colt (B.A. 1868, S&B 1868) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit [Boston] (1884-1913)
William Kneeland Townsend (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit [New York City] (1902-1907)
George Chandler Holt (B.A. 1866, S&B 1866) – Judge of U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York [New York City] (1903-1914)
James Perry Platt (B.A. 1873, S&K 1873) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Connecticut (1902-1913)
Elmer Bragg Adams (B.A. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Missouri (1895-1905)
Edward G. Bradford II (B.A. 1868) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Delaware (1897-1918)
Edward Beers Thomas (B.A. 1870) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York (1898-1906)
Robert W. Archbald (B.A. 1871, S&K 1871) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Middle District of Pennsylvania (1901-1911)
Henry Clay McDowell (B.A. 1884, S&K 1884) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Virginia (1901-1931)

Charles Fraser MacLean (B.A. 1864, S&B 1864) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1896-1909)
Almet Francis Jenks (B.A. 1875, S&B 1875) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1898-1924)
John Proctor Clarke (B.A. 1878) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1901-1926)
Joseph Arthur Burr (B.A. 1871) – Justice of the Supreme Court of New York (1904-1915)
John Albert Matthewman (B.A. 1894) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaii (1904-1919)
Leonard Mayhew Daggett (B.A. 1884, LL.B. 1887) – Corporation Counsel of New Haven, Connecticut (1901-1908)
Arthur Leffingwell Shipman (B.A. 1886, LL.B. 1888, S&B 1886) – Corporation Counsel of Hartford, Connecticut (1904-1908, 1910-1912)
John Prescott Kellogg (B.A. 1882, S&K 1882) – Corporation Counsel of City of Waterbury, Connecticut (1896-1909, 1911-1912)
Montgomery Hare (B.A. 1893) – Assistant Corporation Counsel for New York City (1901-1906)
John William Beckwith (B.A. 1889) – Assistant Corporation Counsel for Chicago (1903-1911)
Robert Rutherford McCormick (B.A. 1903, S&K 1903) – Member of Chicago City Council (1904-1906); President of Sanitary District of Chicago (1905-1910); Editor and Publisher of *The Chicago Tribune*
James Everett Wheeler (B.A. 1892, LL.B. 1894) – Member of City Council of New Haven, Connecticut (1900-1904)
John Payne Studley (LL.B. 1875) – Mayor of New Haven, Connecticut (1901-1908)
Homer S. Cummings (Ph.B. 1891, LL.B. 1893) – Mayor of Stamford, Connecticut (1900-1902, 1904-1906)
Edwin F. Sweet (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Mayor of Grand Rapids, Michigan (1904-1906)
Morihiro Ichihara (Ph.D. 1892) – Mayor of Yokohama, Japan (1903-1906); President of the Bank of Chosen at Seoul, Korea (1909-1915)

Lawyers:

James Mulford Townsend (B.A. 1874, S&B 1874) – General Counsel of E.I. du Pont de Nemours Powder Company (1903-1913)
Robert Weeks de Forest (B.A. 1870, S&K 1870) – General Counsel of Central Railroad of New Jersey (1874-1924)
Lloyd Wheaton Bowers (B.A. 1879, S&B 1879) – General Counsel of Chicago & Northwestern Railway Company (1893-1909)
Thomas Thacher (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – Co-Founder and Member of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett [law firm in New York City] (1875-1919)
Philip G. Bartlett (B.A. 1881, S&B 1881) – Partner of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (1890-1931)
Thomas Mills Day (B.A. 1886, LL.B. 1888, S&B 1886) – Member of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett (1898-1917)
Henry Waters Taft (B.A. 1880, S&B 1880) – Partner of Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft [law firm in New York City] (1899-1945)
John William Sterling (B.A. 1864, S&B 1864) – Co-Founder and Member of Shearman & Sterling [law firm in New York City] (1873-1918)
John Anson Garver (B.A. 1875, S&K 1875) – Partner (1884-1918) and Senior Partner (1918-1936) of Shearman & Sterling
Henry DeForest Baldwin (B.A. 1885, S&B 1885) – Member of Lord, Day & Lord [law firm in New York City] (1900-1947)
Charles Wheeler Pierson (B.A. 1886, S&B 1886) – Member of Alexander & Green [law firm in New York City] (1900-1929)
Frederick Kingsbury Curtis (B.A. 1884) – Member of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt & Mosle [law firm in New York City] (1889-1926)

Herbert Parsons (B.A. 1890, S&K 1890) – Member of Parsons, Closson & McIlvaine [law firm in New York City] (1895-1925)
Charles P. Howland (B.A. 1891) – Member of Murray, Prentice & Howland [law firm in New York City] (1900-1921)
Henry Fletcher (B.A. 1898) – Member of Fletcher, Sillicocks & Leahy [law firm in New York City] (1902-1920)
Allen Wardner Evarts (B.A. 1869) – Member of Evarts, Choate & Sherman [and predecessor firms] [New York City] (1874-1939)
Thomas Townsend Sherman (B.A. 1874, LL.B. Columbia 1876) – Member of Evarts, Choate & Sherman [and predecessor firms] (1875-1931); great-grandson of Roger Sherman

Businessmen and Journalists:

Otto T. Bannard (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – President of New York Trust Company (1904-1916)
Elbridge Clinton Cooke (B.A. 1877; S&B 1877) – President of Minneapolis Trust Company (1903-1920)
Robert Macy Galloway (B.A. 1858) – President of Merchants National Bank [New York City] (1892-1917)
Robert W. Huntington Jr. (B.A. 1889, S&K 1889) – President of Connecticut General Life Insurance Co. (1901-1936)
Harry Payne Whitney (B.A. 1894, S&B 1894) – Member of the board of directors of Guaranty Trust Co. of New York (1899-1930)
Charles Marshall Brown (B.A. 1891) – Secretary and Treasurer of Colonial Steel Company [Pittsburgh] (1901-1917)
Charles Hopkins Clark (B.A. 1871, S&B 1871) – President and Editor-in-Chief of *Hartford Courant* (1890-1926)
William H. Cowles (B.A. 1887, S&B 1887) – Publisher of *Spokane Spokesman-Review* (1893-1946)
Edward Anthony Bradford (B.A. 1873, S&K 1873) – Member of the staff of *The New York Times* (1874-1928)

College Administrators and Professors:

Arthur Twining Hadley (B.A. 1876, S&B 1876) – President of Yale University (1899-1921)
Kenjiro Yamagawa (Ph.B. 1875) – President of Tokyo Imperial University (1901-1905, 1913-1920); Member of House of Peers (1904-1923)
William Rainey Harper (Ph.D. 1875) – President of the University of Chicago (1891-1906)
Cyrus Northrop (B.A. 1857, LL.B. 1859, S&B 1857) – President of University of Minnesota (1884-1911)
Austin Scott (B.A. 1869) – President of Rutgers College (1891-1906)
Horace Bumstead (B.A. 1863) – President of Atlanta University (1888-1907)
Webster Merrifield (B.A. 1877) – President of University of North Dakota (1891-1909)
Frank Strong (B.A. 1884) – Chancellor of University of Kansas (1902-1920)
George W. Kirchwey (B.A. 1879) – Dean of Columbia Law School (1901-1910)
George Chase (B.A. 1870, valedictorian) – Dean of New York Law School (1891-1924)
Nathan Davis Abbott (B.A. 1877, S&K 1877) – Dean of Stanford University Law School (1894-1907)
William Thayer Smith (B.A. 1860, S&B 1860) – Dean of Dartmouth Medical School (1896-1909)

George Dutton Watrous (B.A. 1879, LL.B. 1883) – Professor of Law at Yale Law School (1895-1920)
Henry Walcott Farnam (B.A. 1874, S&B 1874) – Professor of Political Economy at Yale University (1880-1912)
Irving Fisher (B.A. 1888, Ph.D. 1891, S&B 1888) – Professor of Political Economy at Yale University (1893-1935)
Gustav Gruener (B.A. 1884, S&B 1884) – Professor of German at Yale University (1892-1928)
Robert Nelson Corwin (B.A. 1887, S&B 1887) – Professor of German at Yale University (1899-1933)
Horatio McLeod Reynolds (B.A. 1880) – Talcott Professor of the Greek Language and Literature at Yale University (1893-1922)
Charlton M. Lewis (B.A. 1886, S&B 1886) – Emily Sanford Professor of English at Yale University (1899-1923)
James W. Ingersoll (B.A. 1892, S&B 1892) – Professor of Latin at Yale University (1897-1921)
Charles Foster Kent (B.A. 1889, Ph.D. 1891) – Woolsey Professor of Biblical Literature at Yale University (1901-1925)
Edward Salisbury Dana (B.A. 1870, S&K 1870) – Professor of Physics at Yale University (1890-1917)

Dwight Whitney Learned (B.A. 1870, Ph.D. 1873, S&B 1870) – Professor of Chinese History, Biblical Theology, and Greek at Doshisha College in Kyoto, Japan (1876-1928)
Henry Taylor Terry (B.A. 1869) – Professor of English Law at University of Tokyo (1894-1912)
John Trumbull Swift (B.A. 1884) – Lecturer on the English language in Tokyo Imperial University (1900-1927)
William Stewart Halsted (B.A. 1874) – Surgeon-in-Chief of Johns Hopkins Hospital at Baltimore (1890-1922)
John Louis Ewell (B.A. 1865, S&B 1865) – Professor of Church History and Hebrew Exegesis at Howard University [Wash., D.C.] (1891-1910)
Warren Austin Adams (B.A. 1886, Ph.D. 1895) – Professor of German at Dartmouth College (1904-1944)
John Seymour Thacher (B.A. 1877, S&B 1877) – Professor of Clinical Medicine at Columbia University (1903-1918)
George E. Vincent (B.A. 1885, S&K 1885) – Professor of Sociology at University of Chicago (1904-1911)
Henry Herbert Donaldson (B.A. 1879, S&K 1879) – Professor of Neurology at University of Chicago (1892-1906)

Organization Executives:

Franklin Augustus Gaylord (B.A. 1876) – General Secretary of the Russian YMCA in St. Petersburg, Russia (1899-1917)
Thomas F. Davies (B.A. 1853, S&B 1853) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan (1889-1905)
Boyd Vincent (B.A. 1867, S&K 1867) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Southern Ohio (1904-1929)
Chauncey B. Brewster (B.A. 1868, S&B 1868) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut (1899-1928)
Edwin Stevens Lines (B.A. 1872, S&K 1872) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, New Jersey (1903-1927)
Frederic W. Keator (B.A. 1880, LL.B. 1882, S&K 1880) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Olympia, Wa. (1902-1924)
Cortlandt Whitehead (B.A. 1863) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1882-1922); Grand Chaplain of the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania Free and Accepted Masons (1883-1921)
Serenio Dwight Nickerson (B.A. 1845, S&B 1845) – Recording Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts (1881-1908)
William H. Welch (B.A. 1870, S&B 1870) – President of the board of directors of Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901-1934)
Daniel Coit Gilman (B.A. 1852, S&B 1852) – President of Carnegie Institution of Washington (1902-1905); President of the National Civil Service Reform League (1901-1907)
David James Burrell (B.A. 1867, S&K 1867) – Pastor of Marble Collegiate Church in New York City (1891-1926)
Henry Albert Stimson (B.A. 1865, S&B 1865) – Pastor of Manhattan Church in New York City (1896-1917)
Joseph D. Burrell (B.A. 1881, S&B 1881) – Pastor of Classon Avenue Church in Brooklyn [New York City] (1892-1919)

Note: Abbreviations for Yale University graduates: S&B = Skull & Bones; S&K = Scroll & Key

Harvard University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Federal Government Officials:

Theodore Roosevelt (B.A. 1880) – President of the United States (1901-1909)
William Henry Moody (B.A. 1876) – Secretary of the Navy (1902-1904); U.S. Attorney General (1904-1906)
Charles Hallam Keep (A.B. 1882, LL.B. 1885) – Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (1903-1907)
Edwin V. Morgan (A.B. 1890) – U.S. Minister to Korea (June 26, 1905-November 17, 1905)
Richard Theodore Greener (A.B. 1870) – U.S. Consul to Vladivostok, Russia (1898-1905); first African-American Harvard graduate
Roger Sherman Greene (A.B. 1901) – U.S. Vice Consul to Nagasaki, Japan (1904-1905); U.S. Consul at Harbin, China (1909-1911)
Joseph Hodges Choate (B.A. 1852, LL.B. 1854) – U.S. Ambassador to Great Britain (March 6, 1899-May 23, 1905)
Charlemagne Tower (B.A. 1872) – U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1899-1902); U.S. Ambassador to Germany (1902-1908)
Bellamy Storer (B.A. 1867) – U.S. Ambassador to Austria-Hungary (1902-1906)
George von L. Meyer (B.A. 1879) – U.S. Ambassador to Italy (February 4, 1901-April 1, 1905); U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1905-1907)
John W. Riddle (B.A. 1887) – U.S. Consul General in Egypt (March 28, 1904-June 9, 1905); U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1907-1909)

Henry Cabot Lodge Sr. (B.A. 1871, LL.B. 1874, Ph.D. 1876) – U.S. Senator (R-Massachusetts, 1893-1924)
Boies Penrose (B.A. 1881) – U.S. Senator (R-Pennsylvania, 1897-1921)
George Edmund Foss (B.A. 1885) – U.S. Congressman (R-Illinois, 1895-1913, 1915-1919)
Henry Sherman Boutell (B.A. 1876) – U.S. Congressman (R-Illinois, 1897-1911)
Lucius N. Littauer (B.A. 1878) – U.S. Congressman (R-New York, 1897-1907)
Augustus Peabody Gardner (B.A. 1886) – U.S. Congressman (R-Massachusetts, 1902-1917)
Nicholas Longworth (B.A. 1891) – U.S. Congressman (R-Ohio, 1903-1913, 1915-1931)

Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. (B.A. 1861, LL.B. 1866) – Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1902-1932)
John Kelyve Richards (B.A. 1877) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit (1903-1909)
Francis Cabot Lowell (B.A. 1876, LL.B. 1879) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Massachusetts (1898-1905)
Herbert Putnam (B.A. 1883) – Librarian of Congress (1899-1939)
Beekman Winthrop (B.A. 1897) – Governor of Puerto Rico (1904-1907)
John Percy Nields (A.B. 1889, LL.B. 1892) – U.S. Attorney for the District of Delaware (1903-1916)

State and Local Government Officials:

Alfred Stedman Hartwell (B.A. 1858, LL.B. 1867) – Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of Hawaii (1904-1911)
James Tyndale Mitchell (B.A. 1855) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (1903-1909)
William Caleb Loring (B.A. 1872, LL.B. 1874) – Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts (1899-1919)
Henry Newton Sheldon (A.B. 1863) – Justice of the Superior Court of Massachusetts (1894-1905)
Herbert Parker (A.B. 1896) – Attorney General of Massachusetts (1901-1905)
Marcus Cauffman Sloss (A.B. 1890, LL.B. 1893) – Judge of the Superior Court of the City and County of San Francisco (1901-1906)
Abbot Low Mills (A.B. 1881) – Member, Oregon State House of Rep. (1904-05); President, First National Bank of Portland [Oregon] (1903-27)
Louis Adams Frothingham (A.B. 1893, LL.B. 1896) – Member (1901-05) and Speaker (1904-1905) of Mass. State House of Representatives
Robert Luce (A.B. 1882) – Member of the Massachusetts State House of Representatives (1899, 1901-1908)
James Arnold Lowell (A.B. 1891, LL.B. 1894) – Member of the Massachusetts State House of Representatives (1904-1906)
George Dickson Markham (A.B. 1881) – Member of City Council of St. Louis, Missouri (1901-1905)
Robert Grant (A.B. 1873, Ph.D. 1876, LL.B. 1879) – Judge of the Probate Court and Court of Insolvency for Suffolk County [Boston], Massachusetts (1893-1923)

Bankers:

August Belmont Jr. (A.B. 1874) – Head of August Belmont & Co., bankers, New York City (1890-1924)
John Pierpont “Jack” Morgan Jr. (A.B. 1889) – Member of J.P. Morgan & Co. (1901-1913)
Paul J. Sachs (A.B. 1900) – Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (1904-1914)
George Cabot Lee (A.B. 1894) – Member of Lee Higginson & Co. (1900-c.1938)
Thomas W. Lamont (A.B. 1892) – Secretary, Treasurer, and Vice President of Bankers Trust Company (1903-1909)
Edward Percival Merritt (A.B. 1882) – Member of Blodget, Merritt & Co. [banking firm in Boston] (1893-1910)
Russell Green Fessenden (A.B. 1890) – President and Chairman of American Trust Company [banking firm in Boston] (1907-1927)

Businessmen:

Frederick Perry Fish (A.B. 1875) – President of American Telephone & Telegraph Co. [AT&T] (1901-1907)
Robert Todd Lincoln (B.A. 1864) – President of The Pullman Co. (1897-1911)
Howard Elliott (C.E. 1881) – President of Northern Pacific Railway Co. (1903-1913)
Frederic A. Delano (A.B. 1885) – General Manager at Chicago office, Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad Co. (July 1, 1901-Jan. 10, 1905)
Charles Norman Fay (B.A. 1869) – President of Remington-Sholes Company [manufacturers of typewriters in Chicago] (1896-1909)
Adolphus Williamson Green (A.B. 1863) – Co-Founder and President of National Biscuit Company [Nabisco] (1905)
Hammond Lamont (A.B. 1886) – Managing Editor of *New York Evening Post* (1900-1906)
Samuel Dennis Warren (A.B. 1875, LL.B. 1877) – Partner of S.D. Warren & Co. [paper manufacturers in Boston] (1889-1910)
Fiske Warren (B.A. 1884) – Partner of S.D. Warren & Co. [paper manufacturers in Boston] (1889-1918)
Frederic Cromwell (B.A. 1863) – Treasurer and Trustee of Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York

College Administrators and Professors:

Charles William Eliot (A.B. 1853) – President of Harvard University (1869-1909)
William DeWitt Hyde (B.A. 1879) – President of Bowdoin College (1885-1917)
Bartholomew Francis Griffin (A.B. 1899) – President of Oahu College [Honolulu] (1902-1922)
George Edmands Merrill (B.A. 1869) – President of Colgate University (1899-1908)
Charles Franklin Thwing (B.A. 1876) – President of Western Reserve University (1890-1921)

Prince Lucien Campbell (A.B. 1886) – President of University of Oregon (1902-1925)
James Barr Ames (B.A. 1868, LL.B. 1872) – Dean of Harvard Law School (1895-1910)
Francis Greenwood Peabody (A.B. 1869) – Dean of Harvard Divinity School (1901-1905)
William Lambert Richardson (A.B. 1864, M.D. 1867) – Dean of Faculty of Medicine at Harvard University (1899-1907)
Joseph French Johnson (A.B. 1878) – Dean of School of Commerce, Accounts and Finance at New York University (1903-1925)
Marshall Solomon Snow (A.B. 1865) – Dean of Washington University in St. Louis [Missouri] (1876-1912)

Horatio Stevens White (A.B. 1873) – Professor of German at Harvard University (1902-1919)
Eugene Wambaugh (A.B. 1876, LL.B. 1880) – Professor of Law at Harvard University (1892-1925)
John Eliot Wolff (A.B. 1879, Ph.D. 1889) – Professor of Petrography and Mineralogy at Harvard University (1895-1923)
Samuel Williston (A.B. 1882, LL.B. 1888) – Weld Professor of Law at Harvard University (1903-1919)
Theodore William Richards (A.B. 1886, Ph.D. 1888) – Professor of Chemistry at Harvard University (1901-1928)

George Folger Canfield (A.B. 1875; LL.B. 1880) – Professor of Law at Columbia University (1894-c.1919)
James Harvey Robinson (A.B. 1887) – Professor of History at Columbia University (1895-1919)
Charles Augustus Strong (A.B. 1885) – Professor of Psychology at Columbia University (1903-1910); married Bessie Rockefeller, daughter of John D. Rockefeller Sr.
James Laurence Laughlin (A.B. 1873; Ph.D. 1876) – Professor of Political Economy at University of Chicago (1892-1916)
James Richard Jewett (A.B. 1884) – Professor of Arabic Language and Literature at University of Chicago (1902-1911)
Robert Herrick (A.B. 1890) – Associate Professor of English at University of Chicago (1901-1905)
Henry Schofield (A.B. 1887, LL.B. 1890) – Professor of Law at Northwestern University [Illinois] (1902-1918)
Frederick Green (A.B. 1889, LL.B. 1893) – Professor of Law at University of Illinois (1904-c.1928)
Evarts Boutell Greene (A.B. 1890, A.M. 1891, Ph.D. 1893) – Professor of History at Univ. of Illinois (1897-1923); brother of Jerome D. Greene

Wilder Dwight Bancroft (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Physical Chemistry at Cornell University (1903-1937)
William Julian Albert Bliss (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Physics at Johns Hopkins University (1901-1928)
Reynolds Driver Brown (A.B. 1890) – Professor of Law at University of Pennsylvania (1897-1936)
William MacDonald (A.B. 1892) – Professor of History at Brown University (1901-1917)

Others:

Charles Howland Russell (A.B. 1872, LL.B. Columbia 1874) – Member of Stetson, Jennings & Russell [law firm in New York City] (1894-1921)
Edmund Lincoln Baylies (A.B. 1879, LL.B. 1882) – Member of Carter, Ledyard & Milburn [law firm in New York City] (1904-1926)
William Thomas (A.B. 1873, LL.B. 1876) – Member of Thomas, Beedy, Presley & Paramore [law firm in San Francisco]
Edgar Judson Rich (A.B. 1887, LL.B. 1891) – General Solicitor of Boston & Maine Railroad (1903-1915)
Hollis Russell Bailey (A.B. 1877; LL.B. 1878) – Chairman of Massachusetts Board of Bar Examiners (1903-1931); Democrat

William Lawrence (A.B. 1871) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop for the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts (1893-1926)
George Angier Gordon (A.B. 1881) – Minister of Old South Church in Boston (1884-1927)
Augustus Mendon Lord (A.B. 1883) – Minister of First Congregational (Unitarian) Church in Providence, Rhode Island (1890-1931)
Charles Elliott St. John (A.B. 1879) – Secretary of American Unitarian Association in Boston (1900-1907)
Benjamin Morgan Harrod (B.A. 1856) – Member of Panama Canal Commission (1904-1907); City Engineer of New Orleans (1888-1892); Chief State Engineer of Louisiana (1877-1880); Member of U.S. Mississippi River Commission (1879-1904)

Augustine Heard (B.A. 1847) – U.S. Minister to Korea (1890-1893)
Jutarō Komura (LL.B. 1878) – Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs (1901-1906, 1908-1911)
Edward H. Strobel (B.A. 1877) – General Adviser to the Government of Siam [Thailand] (1903-1907)
Edward B. Drew (B.A. 1863) – Commissioner of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (1869-1908)
Henry Ferdinand Merrill (B.A. 1874) – Commissioner of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs (1887-1916)

Note: Frederic A. Delano was Franklin Delano Roosevelt's uncle; Franklin Delano Roosevelt's mother was Sara Delano, the sister of Frederic A. Delano. Frederic A. Delano was born in Hong Kong on September 10, 1863.

Princeton University Graduates and Their Occupation during the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Government Officials:

Richard Wayne Parker (A.B. 1867) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New Jersey, 1895-1911, 1914-1919, 1921-1923)
Ira Wells Wood (A.B. 1877) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New Jersey, 1904-1913)
Joseph Holt Gaines (A.B. 1886) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-West Virginia, 1901-1911)
Richmond Pearson (A.B. 1872) – U.S. Minister to Persia (1903-1907)
Samuel R. Gummere (A.B. 1870) – U.S. Consul General at Tangier [Morocco] (1898-1905)
George Gray (A.B. 1859) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit [Philadelphia] (1899-1914)
John Bayard McPherson (A.B. 1866) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania (1899-1912)
John Jay Jackson, Jr. (A.B. 1845) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the Northern District of West Virginia (1901-1905)
Joseph Cross (A.B. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of New Jersey (March 17, 1905-October 29, 1913); Member of New Jersey State Senate (1899-1905)
George B. McClellan Jr. (A.B. 1886) – Mayor of New York City (January 1, 1904-December 31, 1909)
Frank S. Katzenbach Jr. (A.B. 1889) – Mayor of Trenton, New Jersey (1901-1907)
William Franklin Henney (A.B. 1874) – Mayor of Hartford, Connecticut (1904-1908)
Charles Andrew Talcott (A.B. 1879) – Mayor of Utica, New York (1902-1906)
William S. Gummere (A.B. 1870) – Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey (1901-1933)
Mahlon Pitney (A.B. 1879) – Judge of the Supreme Court of New Jersey (1901-1908)
Robert H. McCarter (A.B. 1879) – Attorney General of New Jersey (1903-1908)

Others:

Woodrow Wilson (A.B. 1879) – President of Princeton University (1902-1910)
Winthrop More Daniels (A.B. 1888) – Professor of Political Economy at Princeton University (1892-1911); Professor of Transportation at Yale University (1923-1940)
William McKibbin (A.B. 1869) – President of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio (1904-1925)
Franklin Spencer Spalding (A.B. 1887) – Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Utah (1904-1914)
William James McKittrick (A.B. 1876) – Pastor of First Church in St. Louis, Missouri (1899-1916)
William James Reid Jr. (A.B. 1893) – Pastor of First Church in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (1902-1943)
Wilton Merle-Smith (A.B. 1877) – Pastor of Central Church in New York City (1889-1920)
Graham Lee (A.B. 1889) – Christian Missionary in Pyongyang, Korea (1892-1912)

Dartmouth College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Charles Daniel Tenney (A.B. 1878) – President of Imperial Chinese University at Tientsin, China (1895-1906); Chinese Secretary at American Legation in Peking (March 11, 1908-March 31, 1912)
William Jewett Tucker (A.B. 1861) – President of Dartmouth College (1893-1909)
George Augustus Gates (A.B. 1873) – President of Pomona College [Claremont, California] (1902-1909)
Albert Ellis Frost (A.B. 1872) – Treasurer of University of Pittsburgh (1892-1909)
Henry Eben Burnham (A.B. 1865) – U.S. Senator (Republican-New Hampshire, 1901-1913)
Redfield Proctor (A.B. 1851) – U.S. Senator (Republican-Vermont, 1891-1908)
David Johnson Foster (A.B. 1880) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Vermont, 1901-1912)
Samuel Walker McCall (A.B. 1874) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1893-1913)
Samuel Leland Powers (A.B. 1874) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1901-1905)
Charles Quincy Tirrell (A.B. 1866) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Massachusetts, 1901-1910)
Walter Henry Sanborn (A.B. 1867) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit [St. Louis] (1892-1928)
Charles Andrew Willard (A.B. 1877) – U.S. Territorial Judge of the Philippine Islands (1901-1909)
Frank Naismith Parsons (A.B. 1874) – Chief Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court (1902-1924)
George Hutchins Bingham (A.B. 1887) – Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court (1902-1913)
Harry B. Thayer (A.B. 1879) – Vice President of Western Electric Company (1902-1908)
Charles Henry Treat (A.B. 1863) – Collector of Internal Revenue for the Wall Street District (1896-1905); Treasurer of the U.S. (1905-1909)
Samuel Henry Hudson (A.B. 1885) – First Assistant Corporation Counsel of Boston (1904-1906)

Columbia University Graduates & Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Nicholas Murray Butler (B.A. 1882; M.A. 1883; Ph.D. 1884) – President of Columbia University (1902-1945)
Frederic R. Coudert (B.A. 1890; A.M. 1891; Ph.D. 1894) – Member of Coudert Brothers [law firm in New York City] (1895-1955)
E.R.A. Seligman (B.A. 1879; LL.B. 1884; Ph.D. 1885) – McVickar Professor of Political Economy and Finance at Columbia Univ. (1904-1931)
William T. Sabine (B.A. 1859) – Pastor of the First Reformed Episcopal Church in New York City (1874-1907)
Emile Henry Lacombe (B.A. 1863; LL.B. 1865) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (1891-1916)
George Lockhart Rives (B.A. 1868, LL.B. 1873) – Corporation Counsel of New York City (1902-1904)
Bernard Drachman (B.A. 1882, Ph.D. Heidelberg 1884) – Rabbi of Congregation Zichron Ephraim in New York City (1889-1945); Professor of Bible and Rabbinical Codes at Jewish Theological Seminary of America (1902-1908)

Brown University Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

John Hay (A.B. 1858) – U.S. Secretary of State (1898-1905)
Augustus Miller (A.B. 1871) – Mayor of Providence, Rhode Island (1903-1905)
Arthur Lewis Brown (A.B. 1876) – Judge of the U.S. District Court for the District of Rhode Island (1896-1927)
Franklin E. Brooks (A.B. 1883) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-Colorado, 1903-1907)
James Burrill Angell (A.B. 1849) – President of University of Michigan (1871-1909)
William H.P. Faunce (A.B. 1880) – President of Brown University (1899-1929)
John D. Rockefeller Jr. (A.B. 1897) – Trustee of Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (1901-1954)

Amherst College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Frederick Huntington Gillett (A.B. 1874) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Republican-Massachusetts, 1893-1925)
George Pelton Lawrence (A.B. 1880) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Republican-Massachusetts, 1897-1913)
Henry Thomas Rainey (A.B. 1883) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat-Illinois, 1903-1921, 1923-1934)
Edward Murray Bassett (A.B. 1884) – Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat- New York, 1903-1905)
Lucius Fayette Clark Garvin (A.B. 1862) – Governor of Rhode Island (1903-1905)
George Herbert Utter (A.B. 1877) – Governor of Rhode Island (1905-1907); Lieutenant Governor of Rhode Island (1904-1905)
Charles F. Stearns (A.B. 1889) – Attorney General of Rhode Island (1901-1905)
William A. King (A.B. 1878) – Attorney General of Connecticut (1903-1907)
Caleb R. Layton Jr. (A.B. 1873) – Secretary of State of Delaware (1901-1905)
Walter Wyman (A.B. 1870) – Surgeon General of the United States (1891-1911)
George Harris (A.B. 1866) – President of Amherst College (1899-1912)
Rush Rhees (A.B. 1883) – President of University of Rochester (1900-1935)
William Foster Peirce (A.B. 1888) – President of Kenyon College [Ohio] (1896-1937)
James Griswold Merrill (A.B. 1863) – President of Fisk University [black college in Nashville, Tennessee] (1899-1908)
Herbert Gardiner Lord (A.B. 1871) – Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University (1900-1921)
Charles Henry Parkhurst (A.B. 1866) – Pastor of Madison Square Presbyterian Church in New York City (1880-1918)

Williams College Graduates and Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Henry Hopkins (B.A. 1858) – President of Williams College (1902-1908)
Granville Stanley Hall (B.A. 1867) – President of Clark University (1888-1920)
William Ball Gilbert (B.A. 1868) – Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (1892-1931)
Michael Edward Driscoll (B.A. 1877) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1899-1913)
George Newell Southwick (B.A. 1884) – U.S. Congressman (Republican-New York, 1895-1899, 1901-1911)
Richard Achilles Ballinger (B.A. 1884) – Mayor of Seattle, Washington (1904-1906)

Note: Prominent newspaper publisher **William Randolph Hearst** was a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives (Democrat-New York) from March 4, 1903 to March 3, 1907.

Russian Revolution of 1905



A Soviet poster celebrating the Battleship Potemkin rebellion during the Russian Revolution of 1905

Russian Statesmen during the Russo-Japanese War



Count Vladimir Nikolayevich Lamsdorf
Foreign Minister of Russia
(1900-1906)



Count Vladimir Kokovtsov
Prime Minister of Russia
(Sept. 18, 1911-Feb. 12, 1914); Finance Minister of
Russia (1904-1905;
1906-1914)



Count Sergei Witte
Prime Minister of Russia
(1905-1906);
Finance Minister of
Russia (1892-1903);
Russian envoy to the
Portsmouth Conference
(1905)



Baron Roman Rosen
Russian Minister to Japan
(1897-1898, 1903-1904);
Russian Ambassador to
the United States (1904-
1911)



Nikolay Muraviev
Minister of Justice of
Russia (1894-1905)



Bloody Sunday Massacre: Czarist Russian Imperial Guard soldiers fire on the Russian people in St. Petersburg, Russia on January 22, 1905 during the Russo-Japanese War. Vladimir Lenin lived in exile in Zurich, Switzerland after the failed 1905 Revolution. Leon Trotsky lived in Vienna, Austria from 1907 to 1914, in Paris from 1914 to 1916, and in New York City from January 1917 to March 1917.



Jewish victims of pogroms in Russia in 1905



Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich of Russia (left photo), who served as the Governor General of Moscow from 1891 to January 1905 and served as the Commander of the Moscow military district in 1905, was assassinated and instantly killed (and disintegrated) by a bomb thrown by 27-year-old Russian terrorist Ivan Kalyayev (right photo) in Moscow, Russia on the afternoon of February 17, 1905. Grand Duke Sergei was the younger brother of Czar Alexander III of Russia and uncle of Czar Nicholas II of Russia.



The carriage of Grand Duke Sergei after his assassination in Moscow, Russia on February 17, 1905.

“These economic developments had profound political effects under the weak-willed Czar Nicholas II (1894-1917). For about a decade Nicholas tried to combine ruthless civil repression, economic advance, and an imperialist foreign policy in the Balkans and the Far East, with pious worldwide publicity for peace and universal disarmament, domestic distractions like anti-Semitic massacres (pogroms), forged terroristic documents, and faked terroristic attempts on the lives of high officials, including himself. This unlikely melange collapsed completely in 1905-1908. When Count Witte attempted to begin some kind of constitutional development by getting in touch with the functioning units of local government (the zemstvos, which had been effective in the famine of 1891), he was ousted from his position by an intrigue led by the murderous Minister of Interior Vyacheslav Plehve (1903). The civil head of the Orthodox Church, Konstantin Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) persecuted all dissenting religions, while allowing the Orthodox Church to become enveloped in ignorance and corruption. Most Roman Catholic monasteries in Poland were confiscated, while priests of that religion were forbidden to leave their villages. In Finland construction of Lutheran churches was forbidden, and schools of this religion were taken over by the Moscow government. The Jews were persecuted, restricted to certain provinces (the Pale), excluded from most economic activities, subjected to heavy taxes (even on their religious activities), and allowed to form only ten percent of the pupils in schools (even in villages which were almost completely Jewish and where the schools were supported entirely by Jewish taxes). Hundreds of Jews were massacred and thousands of their buildings wrecked in systematic three-day pogroms tolerated and sometimes encouraged by the police. Marriages (and children) of Roman Catholic Uniates were made illegitimate. The Moslems in Asia and elsewhere were also persecuted. Every effort was made to Russify non-Russian national groups, especially on the western frontiers. The Finns, Baltic Germans, and Poles were not allowed to use their own languages in public life, and had to use Russian even in private schools and even on the primary level. Administrative autonomy in these areas, even that solemnly promised to Finland long before, was destroyed, and they were dominated by Russian police, Russian education, and the Russian Army. The peoples of these areas were subjected to military conscription more rigorously than the Russians themselves, and were Russified while in the ranks. Against the Russians themselves, unbelievable extremes of espionage, counterespionage, censorship, provocation, imprisonment without trial, and outright brutality were employed. The revolutionaries responded with similar measures crowned by assassination. No one could trust anyone else, because revolutionaries were in the police, and members of the police were in the highest ranks of the revolutionaries. Georgi Gapon, a priest secretly in the pay of the government, was encouraged to form labor unions and lead workers' agitations in order to increase the employers' dependence on the autocracy, but when, in 1905, Gapon led a mass march of workers to the Winter Palace to present a petition to the czar, they were attacked by the troops and hundreds were shot. Gapon was murdered the following year by the revolutionaries as a traitor. **In order to discredit the revolutionaries, the central Police Department in St. Petersburg “printed at the government expense violent appeals to riot” which were circulated all over the country by an organization of reactionaries.** In one year (1906) the government exiled 35,000 persons without trial and executed over 600 persons under a new decree which fixed the death penalty for ordinary crimes like robbery or insults to officials. In the three years 1906-1908, 5,140 officials were killed or wounded, and 2,328 arrested persons were executed. **In 1909 it was revealed that a police agent, Azeff, had been a member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionaries for years and had participated in plots to murder high officials, including Plehve and the Grand Duke Sergius, without warning these. The former chief of police who revealed this fact was sent to prison for doing so. Under conditions such as these no sensible government was possible and all appeals for moderation were crushed between the extremists from both sides.** The defeats of Russian forces in the war with Japan in 1904-1905 brought events to a head. All dissatisfied groups began to agitate, culminating in a successful general strike in October 1905.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 98-99

“The war had enhanced political discontent in Russia and had tended to paralyze the government’s repression of its manifestations. Plevé, the archpractitioner of reaction, was assassinated (July 28, 1904). His successor, Prince Sviatopolk-Mirsky, seemed the herald of a “Russian spring,” inviting the confidence of the press and public. In conference with Shipov, a meeting of zemstvo members was permitted to discuss reform at St. Petersburg (November 19-22). **Anxious to avert revolution, they recommended proclamation of amnesty and of civil liberties for all, even including the peasants. Among their proposals were freedom of conscience; freedom of speech, assembly, and association; freedom of the press; and inviolability of the person and of domicile.** Though all agreed on the need for establishment of an elected national assembly, a very considerable minority, including Shipov, favored the grant to it of advisory functions only. Some of the Liberators, who had been sounding out the Poles and the SR’s on the possibility of concerted action, attempted to anticipate grant of the proposed reforms by founding outspoken newspapers; the government replied by intensifying the censorship. In December, 1904, various categories of professional people – writers, lawyers, professors, journalists, engineers, doctors – had imitated the French revolutionists of 1848 by holding a series of “banquets” in support of the reform program. Disturbances occurred in connection with the dispatch of recruits and reservists to the Far East. A vaguely worded edict of December 25 instructed the ministers to prepare drafts of a number of suggested reforms but ignored the idea of a representative assembly. Another edict condemned the reformers as willful disturbers of the peace. This gentlemanly game of announcing the imperial intention to “initiate” reforms while repressing those who were asking for them was brought to an abrupt halt by “Bloody Sunday” (January 22, 1905, frequently referred to by its date in the Russian calendar, January 9). Gapon’s organization of workers, licensed by the police, was tending to act like a bona-fide trade union. The employers’ demand that the government dissolve the organization was refused. When they attempted a lockout, the workers decided to present to the “Little Father” a petition setting forth their grievances against the employers; in the excitement, a number of the political demands of the intellectuals were incorporated. Monster peaceful demonstrations, carrying pictures of the tsar, converged toward the Winter Palace; they were fired on by troops, Gapon being among the first to fall, unhurt. This panicky and savage action of the government had been intended to prevent repetition of the scenes at Versailles in 1789. It provoked a wave of strikes; the movement was spread over the country by workers hastily expelled from the capital by General Trepov, newly appointed Governor-General of St. Petersburg. An appeal early in February by Kokovtsov, Minister of Finance, to the employers to make concessions that would quiet the workers was met by the firm answer, both in St. Petersburg and in Moscow, that only general political reforms, including civil rights for all, could remedy the situation. The intellectuals intensified their agitation; throughout Russia the universities closed down in protest. There was a wave also of murders of police officials, especially in the Jewish Pale and in the Caucasus. The assassination of Grand Duke Serge, Governor-General of Moscow (February 17) provoked in the general public only a slight feeling of revulsion against revolutionary terrorism. In Poland, where the National Democrats organized a successful boycott of the Russian language, and in the Caucasus, where Christian Armenians and Tatar Moslems waged a sort of civil war, martial law was proclaimed. A new Minister of the Interior, Bulygin, attempted appeasement.”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 379-380

“Taken all together, the organized and vocal opposition to the autocracy was weak in numbers and hopelessly divided. There was little possibility of effective cooperation between the Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Russian Social Democratic Workers’ Party (itself split into Mensheviks and Bolsheviks), the Union of Liberation, and the Zemstvo Constitutionalists, to say nothing of minor groups, organized chiefly on nationalist lines. Neither their objectives nor their methods agreed, and the influence of many of the leaders was further weakened by the inevitable fact that they were of necessity in emigration. Under such circumstances there was no great chance of the autocracy being overthrown. There remained the possibility that under certain circumstances it might collapse of its own weakness and from the lack of support from any significant element outside bureaucratic circles. The class with the most reason to support the autocracy was the nobility. But, despite the pains the government had been at to protect the nobles from injury to their economic interests, the nobility had suffered irreparable loss. In 1885, the state had established a Nobles’ Land Bank, set up in consideration of the needs of noble landholding, which in many localities has been ruined by the scantiness of economic resources and by the tightness of credit . . . in order that the nobles may thereby be more attracted to permanent residence on their estates, where it behooves them primarily to devote themselves to the work required of them as an obligation of their rank.”

Notwithstanding specially favorable interest rates, the result had been that by 1904 more than one-third of the land still in noble hands was mortgaged to this bank, to say nothing of other credit institutions, and arrears in payments were rising. Moreover, the total landholdings of the nobles had been decreasing with mounting rapidity; by 1905 they retained only 52 million of the 73 million dessiatines they had still owned in 1877. In the black-soil region, a relatively small number of nobles had successfully adapted themselves to capitalist agricultural techniques and had produced a disproportionate share (about one-fifth) of the grain put on the market. Yet the role of the nobility in organizing economic activity was no longer able to support their surviving political privileges. Even had they not shown a marked tendency to sulk at home and leave the government to its own devices, they no longer had the strength to play their old role as the ruling class. A number of them, indeed, were conspicuous among the advocates of political reform and of a constitution. The place the nobles had once held in the economic life of the country had, with the rapid rise of large-scale industry, passed to the capitalist entrepreneurs. This class was totally excluded from the formulation of government policy. So long as Serge Witte held the post of Minister of Finance (1892-1903), they had little reason to complain. Witte’s protective tariff policy, his emphasis on indirect taxation (including the spirit monopoly), his promotion of railway construction (with minimal attention to merely strategic needs), his sound-money policy, his encouragement of the investment of foreign capital, his government loans and subsidies, his soft-pedaling of labor legislation—these policies were everything that the industrialists could ask for. The insecurity of their position was, however, made clear by Witte’s “promotion” in 1903 to the supernumerary post of President of the Council of Ministers and by the rise of Pleve, appointed Minister of the Interior in 1902, to dominance in ministerial counsels. Particularly annoying to industrialists was a police scheme, launched in 1901, to play off the workers against the employers and at the same time to smoke out members of the revolutionary parties. Under the guidance of Zubatov, a Moscow public official who had himself been a revolutionary, were organized a number of pseudo trade unions, which even conducted strikes. At Odessa, in 1903, a police-inspired strike got so far out of hand that the troops had to be called out. Zubatov was rebuked, but his idea was not abandoned. In 1904 a “police-socialist” organization was founded at St. Petersburg, under the direction of a young priest, Father Gapon. Even without benefit of police inspiration, the workers had in the 1890’s engaged in a number of major strikes, which the socialists had tried to use for propaganda purposes. A strike simultaneously affecting nineteen cotton factories in St. Petersburg in 1896 for a twelve-hour day had so alarmed Witte that he had carried through legal establishment of an eleven-and-a-half-hour day. Despite the vigorous efforts of the socialists, the strike movement remained almost wholly confined to economic purposes. Although they were engaging in illegal activities, the workers were concerned with improvement of their material condition, not with remote political objectives. Nor was the movement more than sporadic: only in 1898 did it affect more than 1 percent of the factories; only in 1897 and 1899 did the number of strikers approach 4 percent of the total number of factory workers. Yet, although trade unions remained illegal, both the degree of organization and the demonstrative character of the strikes steadily increased; it would be hard to determine whether “police-socialism” or “social democracy” had the greater influence in these respects, insofar as either one was involved at all. In 1903, a wave of violent strikes, starting at Rostov, swept across southern Russia from Odessa to Baku. It was said that over five hundred factories (over 3 percent of the total number in Russia) and 225,000 workers (over 5 percent of the total) were affected; the slogans of the strikers ranged from demand for an eight-hour day to demands for political freedoms. The movement was crushed by employment of Cossacks; large numbers of participants were subjected to punishment. In 1904, the strike movement dropped off to the lowest figures in the reign of Nicholas II, but it had become obvious enough that the proletarian workers constituted a volatile mass, as capable of exploding as was the peasantry from which it was not too clearly differentiable. It was evident also that, though the primary impulse must be given in terms of economic motivations, the Russian workers, once excited, would accept also political objectives. The peasantry itself remained the chief conundrum. It had shown little response to the provocative appeals of revolutionaries; yet it had not remained quiescent under the pressure of ever-present economic distress. Every year there were scores of sporadic disturbances, including arson and murder, on the part of the peasants. In 1902, in two southern provinces, these took especially serious form, though they were quickly and rigorously suppressed by the troops. The fact that the 1902 troubles occurred in an area where the “repartitional” commune prevailed caused much disquiet. Witte began to veer away from his former faith in the commune; in 1903, the remnant of the “circular guarantee” (collective responsibility for payment of taxes and redemption dues) was abolished. Witte, however, was engaged in a bitter and losing quarrel with his colleagues in the ministry, and the government remained uncertain and hesitant.”

— *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 374-376

“On the very eve of revolution, the situation somewhat resembled that of France in 1789. A monarchy which had largely lost the confidence of its subjects and was beginning to feel unsure even of itself, a nobility with little more than decorative functions, a rising bourgeoisie, a restless lower class in the towns, and an oppressed peasantry were elements of instability that added up, not to a united revolutionary urge, but to several disparate and uncoordinated currents. In fundamental ways, however, there was no parallelism between the France of 1789 and the Russia of 1905 – or of 1917. Among many differences were the existence in Russia of large-scale capitalist industry and of a peasantry with no ingrained sense of individual property rights in land. **A special, if relatively minor, peculiarity of the Russian situation was the restlessness of the peoples of the borderlands, who violently resented some of the stupidities of the official policy of Russification. The Little Russians were showing increasing consciousness of themselves as distinct from the Great Russians;** the influx of the latter into the rising industrial area of the Donets coal basin created added friction. In White Russia, the complexities of ethnic differentiation were further embroiled by the stubborn struggle for survival of the Uniate Church. **Both in White Russia and in the Little Russian Ukraine, the continuing oppression of the Jewish minority, crowded into the towns, remained a source of trouble.** The revival of major pogroms, not discouraged by the government, could not fail to drive a disproportionate number of Jews into revolutionary activity; the Kishinev massacre (1903) was to cost Pleve his life in the following year. Poland remained hostile. Here the rigidity of the policy of Russification had been carried even to the point of allowing the teaching of Polish literature only in the Russian language. The exclusion of Poles from all government posts in their native country turned many of them to business activity; the rapid rise of factory industry, in such new centers as Lodz, also stimulated the growth of a Polish middle class and of a Polish socialist movement as well. The influence of the landed nobility was diminished, and a National Democratic Party was organized (1897); its chief spokesman was Roman Dmowski, who openly worked for autonomy rather than independence. In the Baltic provinces, the official drive against the traditional German culture of the middle class played into the hands of the submerged aboriginal Letto-Lithuanian and Estonian population; but these peoples, however glad to be relieved of German dominance, had no desire to accept Russification in its stead; they contributed to the troubles of the Russian government by endeavoring to assert their own right to national existence. **Particularly grave was the situation in Finland. Despite the fact that on his accession Nicholas II had confirmed its historic constitutional liberties and privileges, Finland was forcibly converted into a military district of the Russian Empire, and the powers of the Finnish Diet were curtailed (1899). A period of passive resistance was met with further measures of Russification. In despair a Finn assassinated the Russian Governor-General (1904).** In the east, as in the west, Russia was faced with increasing nationalist resistance. In the Caucasus, the three principal peoples were the Georgians, dominated by their native nobility; the Armenians, largely middle-class; and the Moslem Tatars, who supplied most of the industrial workers. Russia’s Armenians had been much stimulated by emigrants from Turkey, fleeing massacre by the Kurds in 1894-95. In 1903, Pleve turned them violently against the Russian government by taking over control of their church funds. Ethnic and religious difficulties were much exacerbated by the rapid growth of the Caspian oil industry; Baku became one of the chief centers of labor disturbances in the whole empire. In Central Asia, too, Russia’s efforts to “civilize” the Moslem population, so recently brought under imperial control, bred serious hostility. Though the peoples of that region were deeply divided among themselves, they tended to make common cause against the centralizing efforts of the autocracy. Still farther to the east, the effort to extend Russian power, this time beyond the limits of her acknowledged territory, brought on foreign war. Combined with humiliating defeat, this episode was to be the decisive factor in precipitating revolt in Russia itself.”

– *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 376-378

12

Ленинград. Вид на улицу. В. Г. Гринберг.

[illegible]

The information card on “I. V. Stalin”, from the files of the Tsarist secret police in Saint Petersburg, taken in 1911. Stalin was an informant for the Okhrana, the Russian Tsarist secret police.

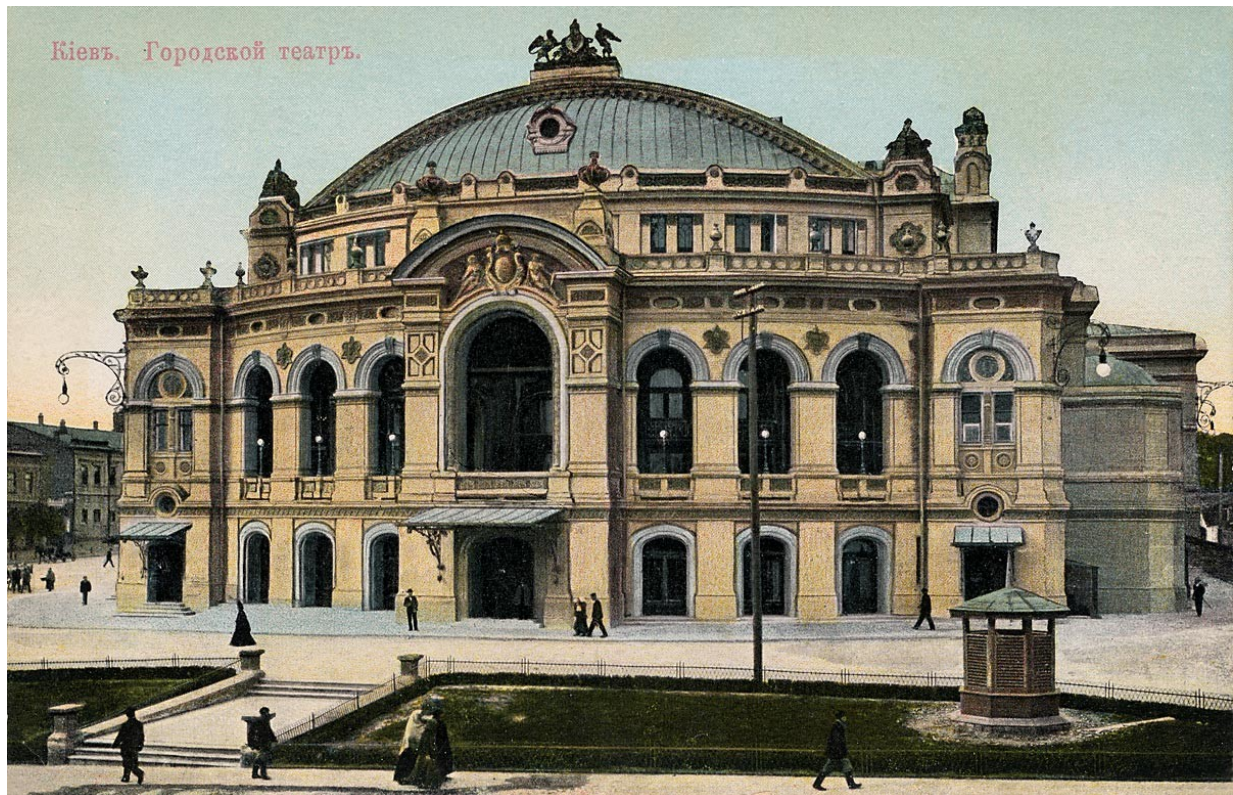
Lone Gunman or Patsy?

The Assassination of Prime Minister of Russia Pyotr Stolypin (September 14, 1911)



Left: Pyotr Arkadyevich Stolypin (1862-1911), the Prime Minister of Russia (July 21, 1906-September 18, 1911)

Right: Dmitry Grigoriyevich Bogrov (1887-1911, born Mordekhai Gershkovich Bogrov), the Jewish assassin of the Russian Prime Minister Pyotr Stolypin and an alleged member of the Okhrana (secret police of the Russian Empire)



Prime Minister of Russia Pyotr Stolypin was shot by a “lone gunman” – 24-year-old Jewish assassin Dmitry Bogrov – in the Kiev Opera House in Kiev, Ukraine (Russia) on September 14, 1911, in front of Czar Nicholas II and two of his daughters. Prime Minister of Russia Pyotr Stolypin died from gunshot wounds in Kiev on September 18, 1911. Dmitry Bogrov was tried, convicted, and executed in Kiev on September 24, 1911.

Former Interior Minister of Russia

Pyotr Nikolayevich Durnovo's Memorandum (February, 1914)

A Future Anglo-German War Will Become an Armed Conflict between Two Groups of Powers

The central factor of the period of world history through which we are now passing is the rivalry between England and Germany. This rivalry must inevitably lead to an armed struggle between them, the issue of which will, in all probability, prove fatal to the vanquished side. The interests of these two powers are far too incompatible, and their simultaneous existence as world powers will sooner or later prove impossible. On the one hand, there is an insular State, whose world importance rests upon its domination of the sea, its world trade, and its innumerable colonies. On the other, there is a powerful continental empire, whose limited territory is insufficient for an increased population. It has therefore openly and candidly declared that its future is on the seas. It has, with fabulous speed, developed an enormous world commerce, built for its protection a formidable navy, and, with its famous trademark, "Made in Germany," created a mortal danger to the industrial and economic prosperity of its rival. Naturally, England cannot yield without a fight, and between her and Germany a struggle for life or death is inevitable.

The armed conflict impending as a result of this rivalry cannot be confined to a duel between England and Germany alone. Their resources are far too unequal, and, at the same time, they are not sufficiently vulnerable to each other. Germany could provoke rebellion in India, in South Africa, and, especially, a dangerous rebellion in Ireland, and paralyze English sea trade by means of privateering and, perhaps, submarine warfare, thereby creating for Great Britain difficulties in her food supply; but, in spite of all the daring of the German military leaders, they would scarcely risk landing in England, unless a fortunate accident helped them to destroy or appreciably to weaken the English navy. As for England, she will find Germany absolutely invulnerable. All that she may achieve is to seize the German colonies, stop German sea trade, and, in the most favorable event, annihilate the German navy, but nothing more. This, however, would not force the enemy to sue for peace. There is no doubt, therefore, that England will attempt the means she has more than once used with success, and will risk armed action only after securing participation in the war, on her own side, of powers stronger in a strategical sense. But since Germany, for her own part, will not be found isolated, the future Anglo-German war will undoubtedly be transformed into an armed conflict between two groups of powers, one with a German, the other with an English orientation.

It Is Hard to Discover Any Real Advantages to Russia in Rapprochement with England

Until the Russo-Japanese War, Russian policy has neither orientation. From the time of the reign of Emperor Alexander I, Russia had a defensive alliance with France, so firm as to assure common action by both powers in the event of attack upon either, but, at the same time, not so close as to obligate either to support unfailingly, with armed force, all political actions and claims of the ally. At the same time, the Russian Court maintained the traditional friendly relations, based upon ties of blood, with the Court of Berlin. Owing precisely to this conjuncture, peace among the great powers was not disturbed in the course of a great many years, in spite of the presence of abundant combustible material in Europe. France, by her alliance with Russia, was guaranteed against attack by Germany; the latter was safe, thanks to the tried pacifism and friendship of Russia, from *revanche* ambitions on the part of France; and Russia was secured, thanks to Germany's need of maintaining amicable relations with her, against excessive intrigues by Austria-Hungary in the Balkan peninsula. Lastly, England, isolated and held in check by her rivalry with Russia in Persia, by her diplomats' traditional fear of our advance on India, and by strained relations with France, especially notable at the time of the well-known Fashoda incident, viewed with alarm the increase of Germany's naval power, without, however, risking an active step.

The Russo-Japanese War radically changed the relations among the great powers and brought England out of her isolation. As we know, all through the Russo-Japanese War, England and America observed benevolent neutrality toward Japan, while we enjoyed a similar benevolent neutrality from France and Germany. Here, it would seem, should have been the inception of the most natural political combination for us. But after the war, our diplomacy faced abruptly about and definitely entered upon the road toward rapprochement with England. France was drawn into the orbit of British policy; there was formed a group of powers of the Triple Entente, with England playing the dominant part; and a clash, sooner or later, with the powers grouping themselves around Germany became inevitable.

Now, what advantages did the renunciation of our traditional policy of distrust of England and the rupture of neighborly, if not friendly, relations with Germany promise us then and at present?

Considering with any degree of care the events which have taken place since the Treaty of Portsmouth, we find it difficult to perceive any practical advantages gained by us in rapprochement with England. The only benefit-improved relations with Japan is scarcely a result of the Russo-English rapprochement. There is no reason why Russia and Japan should not live in peace; there seems to be nothing over which they need quarrel. All Russia's objectives in the Far East, if correctly understood, are entirely

compatible with Japan's interests. These objectives, in their essentials, are very modest. The too broad sweep of the imagination of overzealous executive officials, without basis in genuine national interests, on the one hand, and the excessive nervousness and impressionability of Japan, on the other, which erroneously regarded these dreams as a consistently executed policy--these were the things that provoked a clash which a more capable diplomacy would have managed to avoid.

Russia needs neither Korea nor even Port Arthur. An outlet to the open sea is undoubtedly useful, but the sea in itself is, after all, not a market, but merely a road to a more advantageous delivery of goods at the consuming markets. As a matter of fact, we do not possess, and shall not for a long time possess any goods in the Far East that promise any considerable profits in exportation abroad. Nor are there any markets for the export of our products. We cannot expect a great supply of our export commodities to go to industrially and agriculturally developed America, to poor, but likewise industrial, Japan, or even to the maritime sections of China and remoter markets, where our exports would inevitably meet the competition of goods from the industrially stronger rival powers. There remains the interior of China, with which our trade is carried on, chiefly overland. Consequently, an open port would aid the import of foreign merchandise more than the export of our own products.

Japan, on her part, no matter what is said, has no desire for our Far Eastern possessions. The Japanese are by nature a southern people, and the harsh environment of our Far Eastern borderland cannot attract them. We know that even within Japan itself northern Yezo is sparsely populated, while apparently Japanese colonization is making little headway even in the southern part of Sakhalin Island, ceded to Japan under the Treaty of Portsmouth. After taking possession of Korea and Formosa, Japan will hardly go farther north, and her ambitions, it may be assumed, will turn rather in the direction of the Philippine Islands, Indo-China, Java, Sumatra, and Borneo. The most she might desire would be the acquisition, for purely commercial reasons, of a few more sections of the Manchurian railway.

In a word, peaceable coexistence, nay, more, a close rapprochement, between Russia and Japan in the Far East is perfectly natural, regardless of any mediation by England. The grounds for agreement are self-evident. Japan is not a rich country, and the simultaneous upkeep of a strong army and a powerful navy is hard for her. Her insular situation drives her to strengthen her naval power, and alliance with Russia would allow her to devote all her attention to her navy, especially vital in view of her imminent rivalry with America, leaving the protection of her interests on the continent to Russia. On our part, we, having the Japanese navy to protect our Pacific coast, could give up once for all the dream, impossible to us, of creating a navy in the Far East.

Thus, so far as our relations with Japan are concerned, the rapprochement with England has yielded us no real advantage. And it has gained us nothing in the sense of strengthening our position in Manchuria, Mongolia, or even the Ulianghai territory, where the uncertainty of our position bears witness that the agreement with England has certainly not freed the hands of our diplomats. On the contrary, our attempt to establish relations with Tibet met with sharp opposition from England.

In Persia, also, our position has been no better since the conclusion of this agreement. Every one recalls our predominant influence in that country under the Shah Nasr-Eddin, that is, exactly at a time when our relations with England were most strained. From the moment of our accord with the latter, we have found ourselves drawn into a number of strange attempts to impose upon the Persian people an entirely needless constitution, with the result that we ourselves contributed to the overthrow, for the benefit of our inveterate enemies, of a monarch who was devoted to Russia. That is, not only have we gained nothing, but we have suffered a loss all along the line, ruining our prestige and wasting many millions of rubles, even the precious blood of Russian soldiers, who were treacherously slain and, to please England, not even avenged.

The worst results, however, of the accord with England--and of the consequent discord with Germany--have been felt in the Near East. As we know, it was Bismarck who coined that winged phrase about the Balkan problem not being worth to Germany the bones of a single Pomeranian grenadier. Later the Balkan complications began to attract much more attention from German diplomacy, which had taken the "Sick Man" under its protection, but even then Germany, for a long time, failed to show any inclination to endanger relations with Russia in the interests of Balkan affairs. The proofs are patent. During the period of the Russo-Japanese War and the ensuing turmoil in our country, it would have been very easy for Austria to realize her cherished ambitions in the Balkan peninsula. But at that time Russia had not yet linked her destinies with England, and Austria-Hungary was forced to lose an opportunity most auspicious for her purposes.

No sooner had we taken the road to closer accord with England, however, than there immediately followed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a step which might have been taken so easily and painlessly in 1905 or 1906. Next came the Albanian question and the combination with the Prince of Wied. Russian diplomacy attempted to answer Austrian intrigue by forming a Balkan league, but this combination, as might have been expected, proved to be quite unworkable. Intended to be directed against Austria, it immediately turned on Turkey and fell apart in the process of dividing the spoils taken from the latter. The final result was merely the definite attachment of Turkey to Germany, in whom, not without good reason, she sees her sole protector. In short, the Russo-British rapprochement evidently seems to Turkey as tantamount to England's renouncing her

traditional policy of closing the Dardanelles to us, while the creation of the Balkan league, under the auspices of Russia, appeared as a direct threat to the continued existence of Turkey as a European power.

To sum up, the Anglo-Russian accord has brought us nothing of practical value up to this time, while for the future, it threatens us with an inevitable armed clash with Germany.

Fundamental Alignments in the Coming War

Under what conditions will this clash occur and what will be its probable consequences? The fundamental groupings in a future war are self-evident: Russia, France, and England, on the one side, with Germany, Austria, and Turkey, on the other. It is more than likely that other powers, too, will participate in that war, depending upon circumstances as they may exist at the war's outbreak. But, whether the immediate cause for the war is furnished by another clash of conflicting interests in the Balkans, or by a colonial incident, such as that of Algeciras, the fundamental alignment will remain unchanged.

Italy, if she has any conception of her real interests, will not join the German side. For political as well as economic reasons, she undoubtedly hopes to expand her present territory. Such an expansion may be achieved only at the expense of Austria, on one hand, and Turkey, on the other. It is, therefore, natural for Italy not to join that party which would safeguard the territorial integrity of the countries at whose expense she hopes to realize her aspirations. Furthermore, it is not out of the question that Italy would join the anti-German coalition, if the scales of war should incline in its favor, in order to secure for herself the most favorable conditions in sharing the subsequent division of spoils.

In this respect, the position of Italy is similar to the probable position of Rumania, which, it may be assumed, will remain neutral until the scales of fortune favor one or another side. Then, animated by normal political self-interest, she will attach herself to the victors, to be rewarded at the expense of either Russia or Austria. Of the other Balkan States, Serbia and Montenegro will unquestionably join the side opposing Austria, while Bulgaria and Albania (if by that time they have not yet formed at least the embryo of a State) will take their stand against the Serbian side. Greece will in all probability remain neutral or make common cause with the side opposing Turkey, but that only after the issue has been more or less determined. The participation of other powers will be incidental, and Sweden ought to be feared, of course, in the ranks of our foes.

Under such circumstances, a struggle with Germany presents to us enormous difficulties, and will require countless sacrifices. War will not find the enemy unprepared, and the degree of his preparedness will probably exceed our most exaggerated calculations. It should not be thought that this readiness is due to Germany's own desire for war. She needs no war, so long as she can attain her object--the end of exclusive domination of the seas. But, once this vital object is opposed by the coalition, Germany will not shrink from war, and, of course, will even try to provoke it, choosing the most auspicious moment.

The Main Burden of the War Will Fall on Russia

The main burden of the war will undoubtedly fall on us, since England is hardly capable of taking a considerable part in a continental war, while France, poor in man power, will probably adhere to strictly defensive tactics, in view of the enormous losses by which war will be attended under present conditions of military technique. The part of a battering-ram, making a breach in the very thick of the German defense, will be ours, with many factors against us to which we shall have to devote great effort and attention.

From the sum of these unfavorable factors we should deduct the Far East. Both America and Japan--the former fundamentally, and the latter by virtue of her present political orientation--are hostile to Germany, and there is no reason to expect them to act on the German side. Furthermore, the war, regardless of its issue, will weaken Russia and divert her attention to the West, a fact which, of course, serves both Japanese and American interests. Thus, our rear will be sufficiently secure in the Far East, and the most that can happen there will be the extortion from us of some concessions of an economic nature in return for benevolent neutrality. Indeed, it is possible that America or Japan may join the anti-German side, but, of course, merely as usurpers of one or the other of the unprotected German colonies.

There can be no doubt, however, as to an outburst of hatred for us in Persia, and a probable unrest among the Moslems of the Caucasus and Turkestan; it is possible that Afghanistan, as a result of that unrest, may act against us; and, finally, we must foresee very unpleasant complications in Poland and Finland. In the latter, a rebellion will undoubtedly break out if Sweden is found in the ranks of our enemies. As for Poland, it is not to be expected that we can hold her against our enemy during the war. And after she is in his power, he will undoubtedly endeavor to provoke an insurrection which, while not in reality very dangerous, must be considered, nevertheless, as one of the factors unfavorable to us, especially since the influence of our allies may induce us to take such measures in our relations with Poland as will prove more dangerous to us than any open revolt.

Are we prepared for so stubborn a war as the future war of the European nations will undoubtedly become? This question we must answer, without evasion, in the negative. That much has been done for our defense since the Japanese war, I am the last person to deny, but even so, it is quite inadequate considering the unprecedented scale on which a future war will inevitably be fought. The fault lies, in a considerable measure, in our young legislative institutions, which have taken a dilettante interest in our defenses, but are far from grasping the seriousness of the political situation arising from the new orientation which, with the sympathy of the public, has been followed in recent years by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The enormous number of still unconsidered legislative bills of the war and navy departments may serve as proof of this: for example, the plan of the organization of our national defense proposed to the Duma as early as the days of Secretary of State Stolypin. It cannot be denied that, in the matter of military instruction, according to the reports of specialists, we have achieved substantial improvements, as compared with the time before the Japanese War. According to the same specialists, our field artillery leaves nothing to be desired; the gun is entirely satisfactory, and the equipment convenient and practical. Yet, it must be admitted that there are substantial shortcomings in the organization of our defenses.

In this regard we must note, first of all, the insufficiency of our war supplies, which, certainly, cannot be blamed upon the war department, since the supply schedules are still far from being executed, owing to the low productivity of our factories. This insufficiency of munitions is the more significant since, in the embryonic condition of our industries, we shall, during the war, have no opportunity to make up the revealed shortage by our own efforts, and the closing of the Baltic as well as the Black Sea will prevent the importation from abroad of the defense materials which we lack.

Another circumstance unfavorable to our defense is its far too great dependence, generally speaking, upon foreign industry, a fact which, in connection with the above noted interruption of more or less convenient communications with abroad, will create a series of obstacles difficult to overcome. The quantity of our heavy artillery, the importance of which was demonstrated in the Japanese War, is far too inadequate, and there are few machine guns. The organization of our fortress defenses has scarcely been started, and even the fortress of Reval, which is to defend the road to the capital, is not yet finished.

The network of strategic railways is inadequate. The railways possess a rolling stock sufficient, perhaps, for normal traffic, but not commensurate with the colossal demands which will be made upon them in the event of a European war. Lastly, it should not be forgotten that the impending war will be fought among the most civilized and technically most advanced nations. Every previous war has invariably been followed by something new in the realm of military technique, but the technical backwardness of our industries does not create favorable conditions for our adoption of the new inventions.

The Vital Interests of Germany and Russia Do Not Conflict

All these factors are hardly given proper thought by our diplomats, whose behavior toward Germany is, in some respects, even aggressive, and may unduly hasten the moment of armed conflict, a moment which, of course, is really inevitable in view of our British orientation.

The question is whether this orientation is correct, and whether even a favorable issue of the war promises us such advantages as would compensate us for all the hardships and sacrifices which must attend a war unparalleled in its probable strain.

The vital interests of Russia and Germany do not conflict. There are fundamental grounds for a peaceable existence of these two States. Germany's future lies on the sea, that is, in a realm where Russia, essentially the most continental of the great powers, has no interests whatever. We have no overseas colonies, and shall probably never have them, and communication between the various parts of our empire is easier overland than by water. No surplus population demanding territorial expansion is visible, but, even from the viewpoint of new conquests, what can we gain from a victory over Germany? Posen, or East Prussia? But why do we need these regions, densely populated as they are by Poles, when we find it difficult enough to manage our own Russian Poles? Why encourage centripetal tendencies, that have not ceased even to this day in the Vistula territory, by incorporating in the Russian State the restless Polesian and East Prussian Poles, whose national demands even the German Government, which is more firm than the Russian, cannot stifle?

Exactly the same thing applies to Galicia. It is obviously disadvantageous to us to annex, in the interests of national sentimentalism, a territory that has lost every vital connection with our fatherland. For, together with a negligible handful of Galicians, Russian in spirit, how many Poles, Jews, and Ukrainian Uniates we would receive! The so-called Ukrainian, or Mazeppist, movement is not a menace to us at present, but we should not enable it to expand by increasing the number of turbulent Ukrainian elements, for in this movement there undoubtedly lies the seed of an extremely dangerous Little Russian separatism which, under favorable conditions, may assume quite unexpected proportions.

The obvious aim of our diplomacy in the rapprochement with England has been to open the Straits. But a war with Germany seems hardly necessary for the attainment of this object, for it was England, and not Germany at all, that closed our outlet from the Black Sea. Was it not because we made sure of the cooperation of the later power, that we freed ourselves in 1871 from the humiliating restrictions imposed upon us by England under the Treaty of Paris?

Also, there is reason to believe that the Germans would agree sooner than the English to let us have the Straits, in which they have only a slight interest, and at the price of which they would gladly purchase our alliance.

Moreover, we should not cherish any exaggerated hopes from our occupation of the Straits. Their acquisition would be advantageous to us only as they served to close the Black Sea to others, making it an inland sea for us, safe from enemy attack.

The Straits would not give us an outlet to the open sea, however, since on the other side of them there lies a sea consisting almost wholly of territorial waters, a sea dotted with numerous islands where the British navy, for instance, would have no trouble whatever in closing to us every inlet and outlet, irrespective of the Straits. Therefore, Russia might safely welcome an arrangement which, while not turning the Straits over to our direct control, would safeguard us against a penetration of the Black Sea by an enemy fleet. Such an arrangement, attainable under favorable circumstances without any war, has the additional advantage that it would not violate the interests of the Balkan States, which would not regard our seizure of the Straits without alarm and quite natural jealousy.

In Trans-Caucasia we could, as a result of war, expand territorially only at the expense of regions inhabited by Armenians, a move which is hardly desirable in view of the revolutionary character of present Armenian sentiment, and of its dream of a greater Armenia; and in this region, Germany, were we allied to her, would certainly place even fewer obstacles in our way than England. Those territorial and economic acquisitions which might really prove useful to us are available only in places where our ambitions may meet opposition from England, but by no means from Germany. Persia, the Pamir, Kuldja, Kashgar, Dzungaria, Mongolia, the Ulianghai territory—all these are regions where the interests of Russia and Germany do not conflict, whereas the interests of Russia and England have clashed there repeatedly.

And Germany is in exactly the same situation with respect to Russia. She could seize from us, in case of a successful war, only such territories as would be of slight value to her, and because of their population, would prove of little use for colonization; the Vistula territory, with a Polish-Lithuanian population, and the Baltic provinces, with a Lettish-Estonian population, are all equally turbulent and anti-German.

Russia's Economic Advantages and Needs Do Not Conflict with Germany's

It may be argued, however, that, under modern conditions in the various nations, territorial acquisitions are of secondary importance, while economic interests take first rank. But in this field, again, Russia's advantages and needs do not conflict with Germany's as much as is believed. It is, of course, undeniable that the existing Russo-German trade agreements are disadvantageous to our agriculture and advantageous to Germany's, but it would be hardly fair to ascribe this circumstance to the treachery and unfriendliness of Germany.

It should not be forgotten that these agreements are in many of their sections advantageous to us. The Russian delegates who concluded these agreements were confirmed protagonists of a development of Russian industry at any cost, and they undoubtedly made a deliberate sacrifice, at least to some extent, of the interests of Russian agriculture to the interests of Russian industry. Furthermore, we ought not to forget that Germany is far from being the direct consumer of the greater share of our agricultural exports abroad. For the greater share of our agricultural produce, Germany acts merely as middleman, and so it is for us and the consuming markets to establish direct relations and thus avoid the expensive German mediation. Lastly, we should keep in mind that the commercial relations of States depend on their political understandings, for no country finds advantage in the economic weakening of an ally but, conversely, profits by the ruin of a political foe. In short, even though it be obvious that the existing Russo-German commercial treaties are not to our advantage, and that Germany, in concluding them, availed herself of a situation that happened to be in her favor—in other words, forced us to the wall—this action should have been expected from Germany and thought of. It should not, however, be looked upon as a mark of hostility toward us, but rather as an expression of healthy national self-interest, worthy of our emulation. Aside from that, we observe, in the case of Austria-Hungary, an agricultural country that is in a far greater economic dependence upon Germany than ours, but nevertheless, is not prevented from attaining an agricultural development such as we may only dream of.

In view of what has been said, it would seem that the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Germany, entirely acceptable to Russia, by no means requires that Germany first be crushed. It will be quite sufficient to maintain neighborly relations with her, to make a careful estimate of our real interests in the various branches of national economy, and to engage in long, insistent bargaining with German delegates, who may be expected to protect the interests of their own fatherland and not ours.

But I would go still further and say that the ruin of Germany, from the viewpoint of our trade with her, would be disadvantageous to us. Her defeat would unquestionably end in a peace dictated from the viewpoint of England's economic interests. The latter will exploit to the farthest limit any success that falls to her lot, and we will only lose, in a ruined Germany without sea routes, a market which, after all, is valuable to us for our otherwise unmarketable products.

In respect to Germany's economic future, the interests of Russia and England are diametrically opposed. For England, it is profitable to kill Germany's maritime trade and industry, turning her into a poor and, if possible, agricultural country. For us, it is of advantage for Germany to develop her sea-going commerce and the industry which serves it, so as to supply the remotest world markets, and at the same time open her domestic market to our agricultural products, to supply her large working population.

But, aside from the commercial treaties, it has been customary to point out the oppressive character of German domination in Russian economic life, and the systematic penetration of German colonization into our country, as representing a manifest peril to the Russian State. We believe, however, that fears on these grounds are considerably exaggerated. The famous "Drang nach Osten" was in its own time natural and understandable, since Germany's land could not accommodate her increased population, and the surplus was driven in the direction of the least resistance, i.e., into a less densely populated neighboring country. The German Government was compelled to recognize the inevitability of this movement, but could hardly look upon it as to its own interests. For, after all, it was Germans who were being lost to the influence of the German State, thus reducing the man power of their own country. Indeed, the German Government made such strenuous efforts to preserve the connection between its emigrants and their old fatherland that it adopted even the unusual method of tolerating dual citizenship. It is certain, however, that a considerable proportion of German emigrants definitely and irrevocably settled in their new homes, and slowly broke their ties with the old country. This fact, obviously incompatible with Germany's State interests, seems to have been one of the incentives which started her upon a colonial policy and maritime commerce, previously so alien to her. And at present, as the German colonies increase and there is an attendant growth of German industry and naval commerce, the German colonization movement decreases, in a measure, and the day is not remote when the "Drang nach Osten" will become nothing more than a subject for history.

In any case, the German colonization, which undoubtedly conflicts with our State interests, must be stopped, and here, again, friendly relations with Germany cannot harm us. To express a preference for a German orientation does not imply the advocacy of Russian vassalage to Germany, and, while maintaining friendly and neighborly intercourse with her, we must not sacrifice our State interests to this object. But Germany herself will not object to measures against the continued flow of German colonists into Russia. To her, it is of greater benefit to turn the wave of emigration toward her own colonies. Moreover, even before Germany had colonies, when her industry was not yet sufficiently developed to employ the entire population, the German Government did not feel justified in protesting against the restrictive measures that were adopted against foreign colonization during the reign of Alexander III.

As regards the German domination in the field of our economic life, this phenomenon hardly justifies the complaints usually voiced against it. Russia is far too poor, both in capital and in industrial enterprise, to get along without a large import of foreign capital. A certain amount of dependence upon some kind of foreign capital is, therefore, unavoidable, until such time as the industrial enterprise and material resources of our population develop to a point where we may entirely forego the services of foreign investors and their money. But as long as we do require them, German capital is more advantageous to us than any other.

First and foremost, this capital is cheaper than any other, being satisfied with the lowest margin of profit. This, to a large extent, explains the relative cheapness of German products, and their gradual displacement of British products in the markets of the world. The lower demands of German capital, as regards returns, have for their consequence Germany's readiness to invest in enterprises which, because of their relatively small returns, are shunned by other foreign investor;. Also, as a result of that relative cheapness of German capital, its influx into Russia is attended by a smaller outflow of investors' profits from Russia, as compared with French and English investments, and so a larger amount of rubles remain in Russia. Moreover, a considerable proportion of the profits made on German investments in Russian industry do not leave our country at all, but are spent in Russia.

Unlike the English or French, the German capitalists, in most cases, come to stay in Russia, themselves, with their money. It is this very German characteristic which explains in a considerable degree the amazing number of German industrialists, manufacturers, and mill owners in our midst, as compared with the British and French.

The latter live in their own countries, removing from Russia the profits produced by their enterprises, down to the last kopek. The German investors, on the contrary, live in Russia for long periods, and not infrequently settle down permanently. Whatever may be said to the contrary, the fact is that the Germans, unlike other foreigners, soon feel at home in Russia and rapidly become

Russianized. Who has not seen Frenchmen and Englishmen, for example, who have spent almost their whole lives in Russia and yet do not speak a word of Russian? On the other hand, are there many Germans here who cannot make themselves understood in Russian, even though it be with a strong accent and in broken speech? Nay, more—who has not seen genuine Russians, orthodox, loyal with all their hearts dedicated to the principles of the Russian State, and yet only one or two generations removed from their German emigrant ancestry? Lastly, we must not forget that Germany herself is, to a certain extent, interested in our economic well-being. In this regard, Germany differs, to our advantage, from other countries, which are interested exclusively in obtaining the largest possible returns from capital invested in Russia, even at the cost of the economic ruin of this country. Germany, however, in her capacity of permanent—although, of course, not unselfish—middleman for our foreign trade, has an interest in preserving the productive resources of our country, as a source of profitable intermediary operations for her.

Even a Victory over Germany Promises Russia an Exceedingly Unfavorable Prospect

In any case, even if we were to admit the necessity for eradicating German domination in the field of our economic life, even at the price of a total banishment of German capital from Russian industry, appropriate measures could be taken. It would seem, without war against Germany. Such a war will demand such enormous expenditures that they will many times exceed the more than doubtful advantages to us in the abolition of the German [economic] domination. More than that, the result of such a war will be an economic situation compared with which the yoke of German capital will seem easy.

For there can be no doubt that the war will necessitate expenditures which are beyond Russia's limited financial means. We shall have to obtain credit from allied and neutral countries, but this will not be granted gratuitously. As to what will happen if the war should end disastrously for us, I do not wish to discuss now. The financial and economic consequences of defeat can be neither calculated nor fore-seen, and will undoubtedly spell the total ruin of our entire national economy.

But even victory promises us extremely unfavorable financial prospects; a totally ruined Germany will not be in a position to compensate us for the cost involved. Dictated in the interest of England, the peace treaty will not afford Germany opportunity for sufficient economic recuperation to cover our war expenditures, even at a distant time. The little which we may perhaps succeed in extorting from her will have to be shared with our allies, and to our share there will fall but negligible crumbs, compared with the war cost. Meantime, we shall have to pay our war loans, not without pressure by the allies. For, after the destruction of German power, we shall no longer be necessary to them. Nay, more, our political might, enhanced by our victory, will induce them to weaken us, at least economically. And so it is inevitable that, even after a victorious conclusion of the war, we shall fall into the same sort of financial and economic dependence upon our creditors, compared with which our present dependence upon German capital will seem ideal.

However, no matter how sad may be the economic prospects which face us as a result of union with England, and, by that token, of war with Germany, they are still of secondary importance when we think of the political consequences of this fundamentally unnatural alliance.

A Struggle Between Russia and Germany Is Profoundly Undesirable to Both Sides, as It Amounts to a Weakening of the Monarchist Principle

It should not be forgotten that Russia and Germany are the representatives of the conservative principle in the civilized world, as opposed to the democratic principle, incarnated in England and, to an infinitely lesser degree, in France. Strange as it may seem, England, monarchistic and conservative to the marrow at home, has in her foreign relations always acted as the protector of the most demagogical tendencies, invariably encouraging all popular movements aiming at the weakening of the monarchical principle.

From this point of view, a struggle between Germany and Russia, regardless of its issue, is profoundly undesirable to both sides, as undoubtedly involving the weakening of the conservative principle in the world of which the above-named two great powers are the only reliable bulwarks. More than that, one must realize that under the exceptional conditions which exist, a general European war is mortally dangerous both for Russia and Germany, no matter who wins. It is our firm conviction, based upon a long and careful study of all contemporary subversive tendencies, that there must inevitably break out in the defeated country a social revolution which, by the very nature of things, will spread to the country of the victor.

During the many years of peaceable neighborly existence, the two countries have become united by many ties, and a social upheaval in one is bound to affect the other. That these troubles will be of a social, and not a political, nature cannot be doubted, and this will hold true, not only as regards Russia, but for Germany as well. An especially favorable soil for social upheavals is found in Russia, where the masses undoubtedly profess, unconsciously, the principles of Socialism. In spite of the spirit of antagonism to the Government in Russian society, as unconscious as the Socialism of the broad masses of the people, a political revolution is not possible in Russia, and any revolutionary movement inevitably must degenerate into a Socialist movement. The

opponents of the government have no popular support. The people see no difference between a government official and an intellectual. The Russian masses, whether workmen or peasants, are not looking for political rights, which they neither want nor comprehend.

The peasant dreams of obtaining a gratuitous share of somebody else's land; the workman, of getting hold of the entire capital and profits of the manufacturer. Beyond this, they have no aspirations. If these slogans are scattered far and wide among the populace, and the Government permits agitation along these lines, Russia will be flung into anarchy, such as she suffered in the ever-memorable period of troubles in 1905-1906. War with Germany would create exceptionally favorable conditions for such agitation. As already stated, this war is pregnant with enormous difficulties for us, and cannot turn out to be a mere triumphal march to Berlin. Both military disaster, -partial ones, let us hope- and all kinds of shortcomings in our supply are inevitable. In the excessive nervousness and spirit of opposition of our society, these events will be given an exaggerated importance, and all the blame will be laid on the Government.

It will be well if the Government does not yield, but declares directly that in time of war no criticism of the governmental authority is to be tolerated, and resolutely suppresses all opposition. In the absence of any really strong hold on the people by the opposition, this would settle the affair. The people did not heed the writers of the Wiborg Manifesto, in its time, and they will not follow them now.

But a worse thing may happen: the government authority may make concessions, may try to come to an agreement with the opposition, and thereby weaken itself just when the Socialist elements are ready for action. Even though it may sound like a paradox, the fact is that agreement with the opposition in Russia positively weakens the Government. The trouble is that our opposition refuses to reckon with the fact that it represents no real force. The Russian opposition is intellectual throughout, and this is its weakness, because between the intelligentsia and the people there is a profound gulf of mutual misunderstanding and distrust. We need an artificial election law, indeed, we require the direct influence of the governmental authority, to assure the election to the State Duma of even the most zealous champions of popular rights. Let the Government refuse to support the elections, leaving them to their natural course, and the legislative institutions would not see within their walls a single intellectual, outside of a few demagogic agitators. However insistent the members of our legislative institutions may be that the people confide in them, the peasant would rather believe the landless government official than the Octobrist landlord in the Duma, while the workingman treats the wage-earning factory inspector with more confidence than the legislating manufacturer, even though the latter professes every principle of the Cadet party.

It is more than strange, under these circumstances, that the governmental authority should be asked to reckon seriously with the opposition, that it should for this purpose renounce the role of impartial regulator of social relationships, and come out before the broad masses of the people as the obedient organ of the class aspirations of the intellectual and propertied minority of the population. The opposition demands that the Government should be responsible to it, representative of a class, and should obey the parliament which it artificially created. (Let us recall that famous expression of V. Nabokov: "Let the executive power submit to the legislative power!" In other words, the opposition demands that the Government should adopt the psychology of a savage, and worship the idol which he himself made.

Russia Will be Flung into Hopeless Anarchy, the Issue of Which Will be Hard to Foresee

If the war ends in victory, the putting down of the Socialist movement will not offer any insurmountable obstacles. There will be agrarian troubles, as a result of agitation for compensating the soldiers with additional land allotments; there will be labor troubles during the transition from the probably increased wages of war time to normal schedules; and this, it is to be hoped, will be all, so long as the wave of the German social revolution has not reached us. But in the event of defeat, the possibility of which in a struggle with a foe like Germany cannot be overlooked, social revolution in its most extreme form is inevitable.

As has already been said, the trouble will start with the blaming of the Government for all disasters. In the legislative institutions a bitter campaign against the Government will begin, followed by revolutionary agitations throughout the country, with Socialist slogans, capable of arousing and rallying the masses, beginning with the division of the land and succeeded by a division of all valuables and property. The defeated army, having lost its most dependable men, and carried away by the tide of primitive peasant desire for land, will find itself too demoralized to serve as a bulwark of law and order. The legislative institutions and the intellectual opposition parties, lacking real authority in the eyes of the people, will be powerless to stem the popular tide, aroused by themselves, and Russia will be flung into hopeless anarchy, the issue of which cannot be foreseen.

Germany, in Case of Defeat, is Destined to Suffer Social Upheavals No Less than those of Russia

No matter how strange it may appear at first sight, considering the extraordinary poise of the German character, Germany, likewise, is destined to suffer, in case of defeat, no lesser social upheavals. The effect of a disastrous war upon the population will

be too severe not to bring to the surface destructive tendencies, now deeply hidden. The peculiar social order of modern Germany rests upon the actually predominant influence of the agrarians, Prussian Junkerdom and propertied peasants.

These elements are the bulwark of the profoundly conservative German regime headed by Prussia. The vital interests of these classes demand a protective economic policy towards agriculture, import duties on grain, and consequently, high price for all farm products. But Germany, with her limited territory and increasing population, has long ago turned from an agricultural into an industrial State, so that protection of agriculture is, in effect, a matter of taxing the larger part of the population for the benefit of the smaller. To this majority, there is a compensation in the extensive development of the export of German industrial products to the most distant markets, so that the advantages derived thereby enable the industrialists and working people to pay the higher prices for the farm products consumed at home.

Defeated, Germany will lose her world markets and maritime commerce, for the aim of the war-on the part of its real instigator, England-will be the destruction of German competition. After this has been achieved, the laboring masses, deprived not only of higher but of any and all wages, having suffered greatly during the war, and being, naturally, embittered, will offer fertile soil for anti-agrarian and later anti-social propaganda by the Socialist parties.

These parties, in turn, making use of the outraged patriotic sentiment among the people, owing to the loss of the war, their exasperation at the militarists and the feudal burgher regime that betrayed them, will abandon the road of peaceable evolution which they have thus far been following so steadily, and take a purely revolutionary path. Some part will also be played, especially in the event of agrarian troubles in neighboring Russia, by the class of landless farmhands, which is quite numerous in Germany. Apart from this, there will be a revival of the hitherto concealed separatist tendencies in southern Germany, and the hidden antagonism of Bavaria to domination by Prussia will emerge in all its intensity. In short, a situation will be created which (in gravity) will be little better than that in Russia.

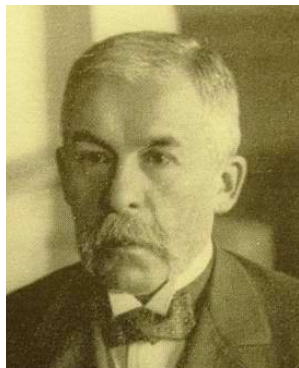
Peace Among the Civilized Nations is Imperiled Chiefly by the Desire of England to Retain Her Vanishing Domination of the Seas

A summary of all that has been stated above must lead to the conclusion that a rapprochement with England does not promise us any benefits, and that the English orientation of our diplomacy is essentially wrong. We do not travel the same road as England; she should be left to go her own way, and we must not quarrel on her account with Germany.

The Triple Entente is an artificial combination, without a basis of real interest. It has nothing to look forward to. The future belongs to a close and incomparably more vital rapprochement of Russia, Germany, France (reconciled with Germany), and Japan (allied to Russia by a strictly defensive union). A political combination like this, lacking all aggressiveness toward other States, would safeguard for many years the peace of the civilized nations, threatened, not by the militant intentions of Germany, as English diplomacy is trying to show, but solely by the perfectly natural striving of England to retain at all costs her vanishing domination of the seas. In this direction, and not in the fruitless search of a basis for an accord with England, which is in its very nature contrary to our national plans and aims, should all the efforts of our diplomacy be concentrated.

It goes without saying that Germany, on her part, must meet our desire to restore our well-tested relations and friendly alliance with her, and to elaborate, in closest agreement with us, such terms of our neighborly existence as to afford no basis for anti-German agitation on the part of our constitutional-liberal parties, which, by their very nature, are forced to adhere, not to a Conservative German, but to a liberal English orientation.

February, 1914
P. N. Durnovo

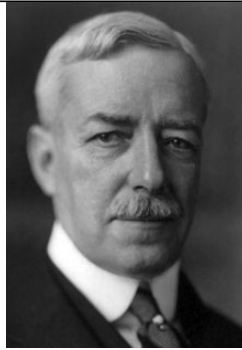


Pyotr Nikolayevich Durnovo (1845-1915)

Prominent Statesmen during the October Revolution (November 8, 1917)



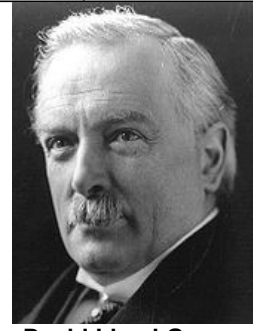
David Rowland Francis
U.S. Ambassador to
Russia (May 5, 1916-Nov.
7, 1918); Governor of
Missouri (1889-1893)



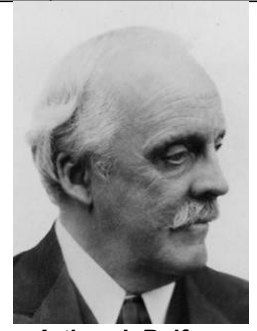
Robert Lansing
U.S. Secretary of State
(June 24, 1915 –
February 13, 1920)



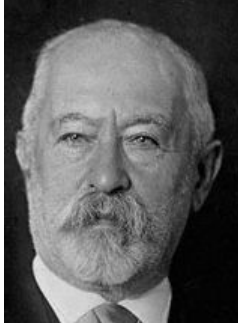
Newton D. Baker
U.S. Secretary of War
(1916-1921)



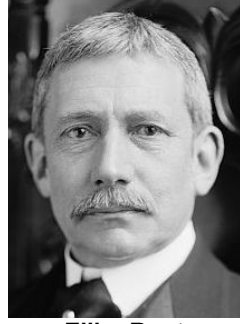
David Lloyd George
Prime Minister of Great
Britain (December 7,
1916-October 22, 1922)



Arthur J. Balfour
Foreign Secretary of
Great Britain (1916-1919)



Jacob H. Schiff
Partner of Kuhn, Loeb &
Company [banking firm in
New York City]



Elihu Root
President of Carnegie
Endowment for
International Peace
(1910-1925); Member of
the Root Commission



Alexander Kerensky
Prime Minister of Russia
(July 21, 1917-November
7, 1917)



**Count Vladimir
Kokovtsov**
Prime Minister of Russia
(Sept. 18, 1911-Feb. 12,
1914); Finance Minister of
Russia (1904-1905;
1906-1914)



Prince Georgy Lvov
Prime Minister of Russia
(March 15, 1917-July 21,
1917)



Boris V. Stürmer
Prime Minister of Russia
(2 February 1916 – 23
Nov. 1916); Died in prison
on September 9, 1917



Sergei D. Sazonov
Foreign Minister of Russia
(1910-1916)



Pyotr Bark
Finance Minister of
Russia (1914-1917)



Nikolai Pokrovsky
Foreign Minister of Russia
(1916-1917)



Alexander Protopopov
Interior Minister of Russia
(September 1916-
February 1917)



Ivan P. Shipov
Governor of the State
Bank of the Russian
Empire (1912-1917)



Mikhail Rodzianko
Chairman of the State
Duma (1911-1917)



Ivan Shcheglovitov
Minister of Justice of
Russia (1906-1915);
Executed by the
Bolsheviks in 1918



**Count Alexander
Izvolsky**
Russian Ambassador to
France (1910-1917);
Foreign Minister of Russia
(1906-1910)

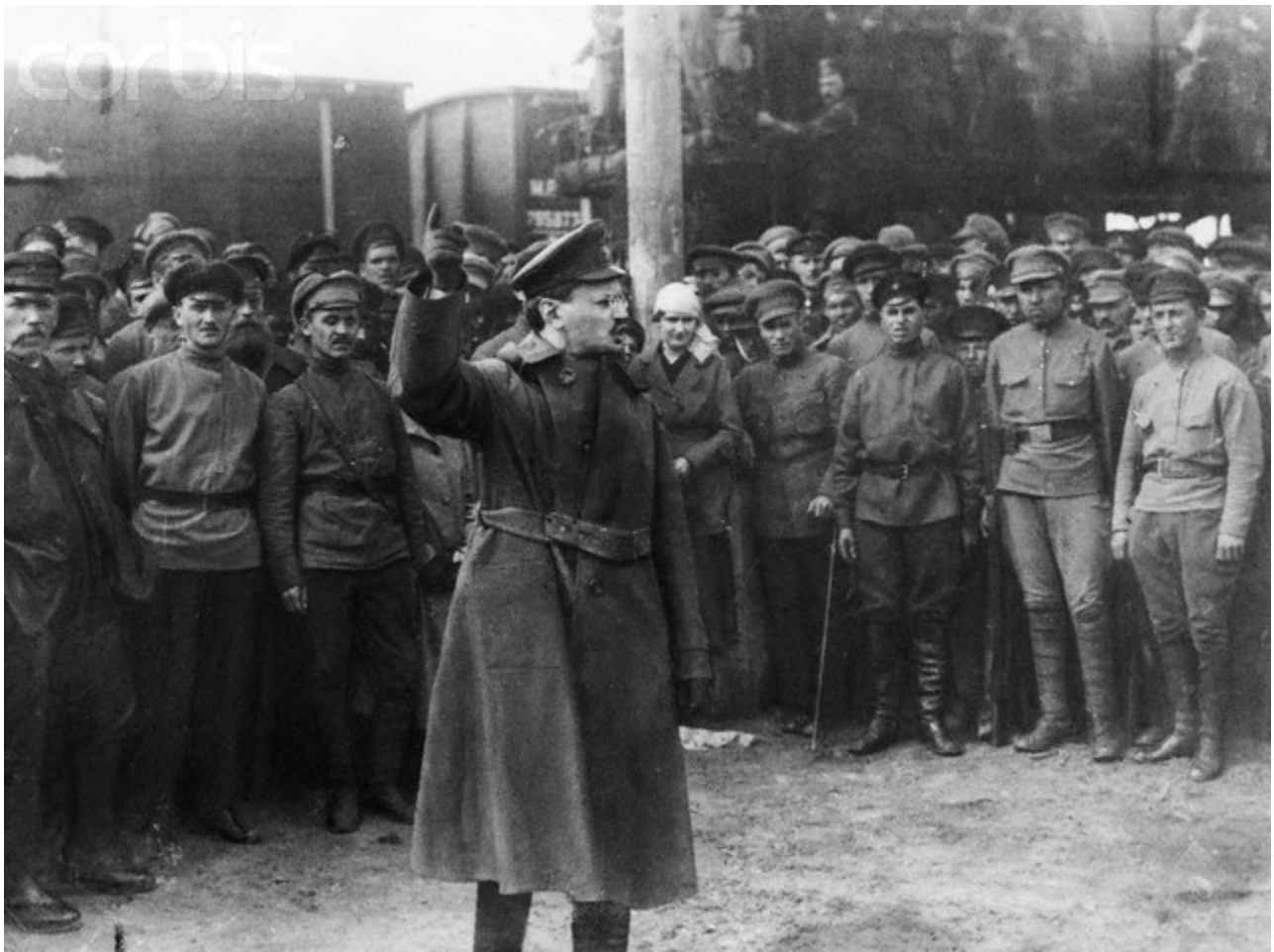


George Bakhmeteff
Russian Ambassador to
the United States
(1911-1917)

Bolshevik Revolution & Russian Civil War (1917-1922)



Vladimir Lenin addresses a crowd during May Day ceremonies in Moscow, Russia in May 1918. **Vladimir Lenin survived two major assassination attempts in 1918.** The first assassination attempt occurred in Petrograd on January 14, 1918, when assassins ambushed Lenin in his automobile after a speech; Lenin escaped unharmed from that incident. The second assassination attempt occurred in Moscow on August 30, 1918, when a “lone gunman” named Fanya Yefimovna Kaplan (a female socialist) shot Lenin three times with a pistol – the first bullet struck his arm, the second bullet his jaw and neck, and the third bullet missed him. (Culver Pictures)



Russian Jewish Communist terrorist Leon Trotsky delivers a speech to a group of Bolsheviks. (Photo: Underwood & Underwood/CORBIS)

“I have just been called to the phone and heard that Smolny Institute, Bolshevik Headquarters, has formally announced that a revolution similar to that in Russia has begun in Germany. **The Bolshevik leaders here, most of whom are Jews and 90 per cent of whom are returned exiles, care little for Russia or any other country but are internationalists and they are trying to start a worldwide social revolution.** If such a revolution can get a foothold in Germany where the people are obsequious to those above them and domineering and tyrannical to those beneath them and where organization and system has obtained such a foothold as it never had in history before, I begin to fear for the institutions not only of England but of the Republic of France and the thought arises in my mind whether our own institutions are safe.”

– U.S. Ambassador to Russia David Rowland Francis, January 1918

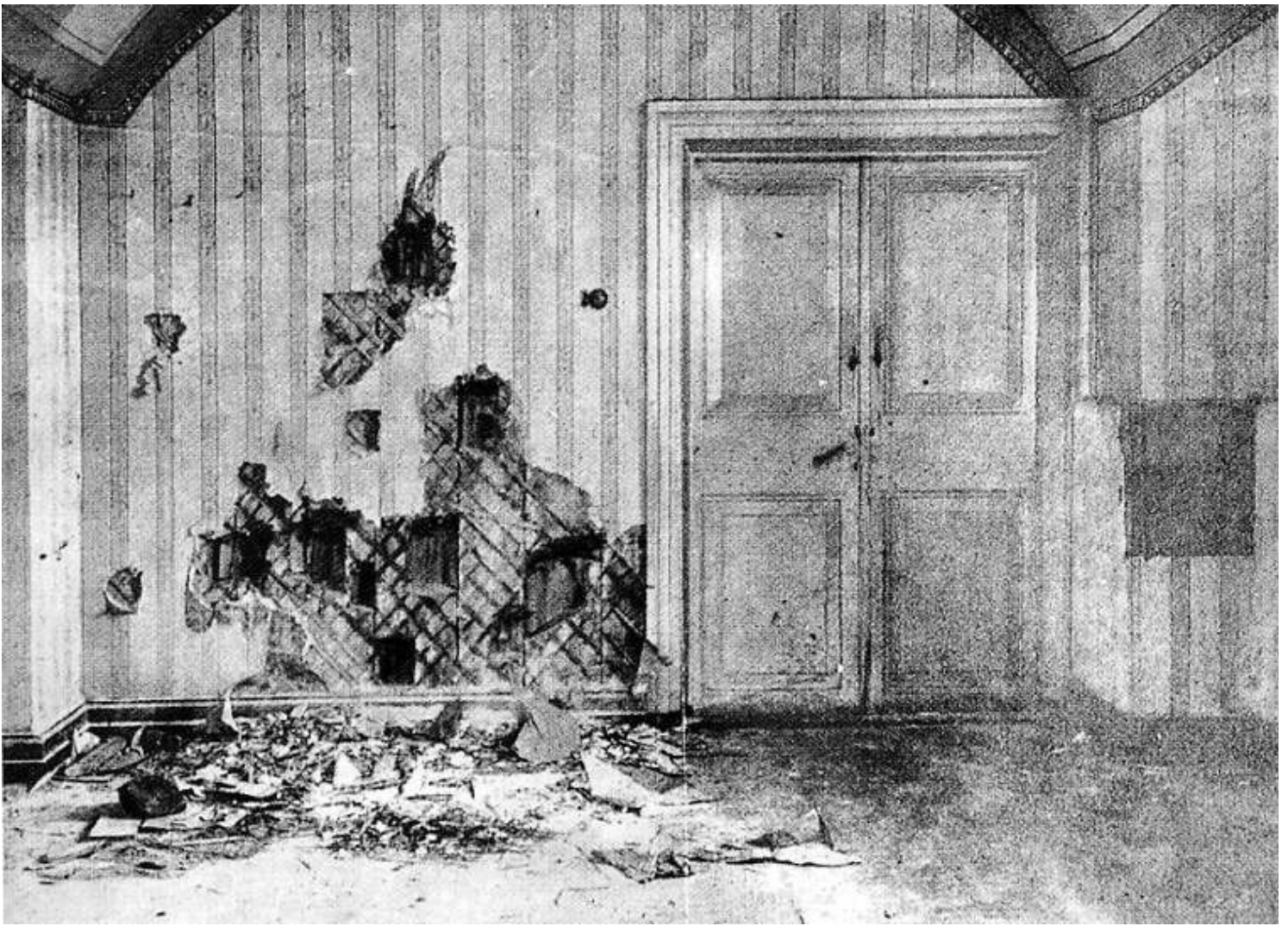
From *Russia from the American Embassy* by David R. Francis (New York: 1921), p. 214



The Russian imperial family pose for a portrait in 1913. Left to right: Grand Duchess Maria, Tsarina Alexandra, Grand Duchesses Olga and Tatiana, Tsar Nicholas II, and Grand Duchess Anastasia. Tsarevich Alexei sits in front of his parents. Tsar Nicholas II of Russia abdicated his throne on March 15, 1917. Tsar Nicholas II and his family were assassinated by the Bolsheviks [Communists] in Russia in the early morning hours of July 17, 1918.



Grigori Efimovich Rasputin and his adoring women of the Russian nobility pose for a portrait in 1916 (just prior to his murder). Rasputin was a spiritual adviser and confidante to Tsarina Alexandra. Rasputin was assassinated in St. Petersburg, Russia on the morning of December 30, 1916. (Underwood & Underwood)



The basement in a house in Yekaterinburg, Russia where a group of Bolsheviks, on Lenin's orders, executed the Czar and his family in the early morning hours of July 17, 1918. (Time Life)

Leon Trotsky -- one of Lenin's closest colleagues -- had revealed years earlier that Lenin and Sverdlov had together made the decision to put the Tsar and his family to death. Recalling a conversation in 1918, Trotsky wrote:

My next visit to Moscow took place after the [temporary] fall of Ekaterinburg [to anti-Communist forces].

Speaking with Sverdlov, I asked in passing: "Oh yes, and where is the Tsar?"

"Finished," he replied. "He has been shot."

"And where is the family?"

"The family along with him."

"All of them?," I asked, apparently with a trace of surprise.

"All of them," replied Sverdlov. "What about it?" He was waiting to see my reaction. I made no reply.

"And who made the decision?," I asked.

"We decided it here. Ilyich [Lenin] believed that we shouldn't leave the Whites a live banner to rally around, especially under the present difficult circumstances."

I asked no further questions and considered the matter closed."

From an April 1935 entry in "Trotsky's Diary in Exile"

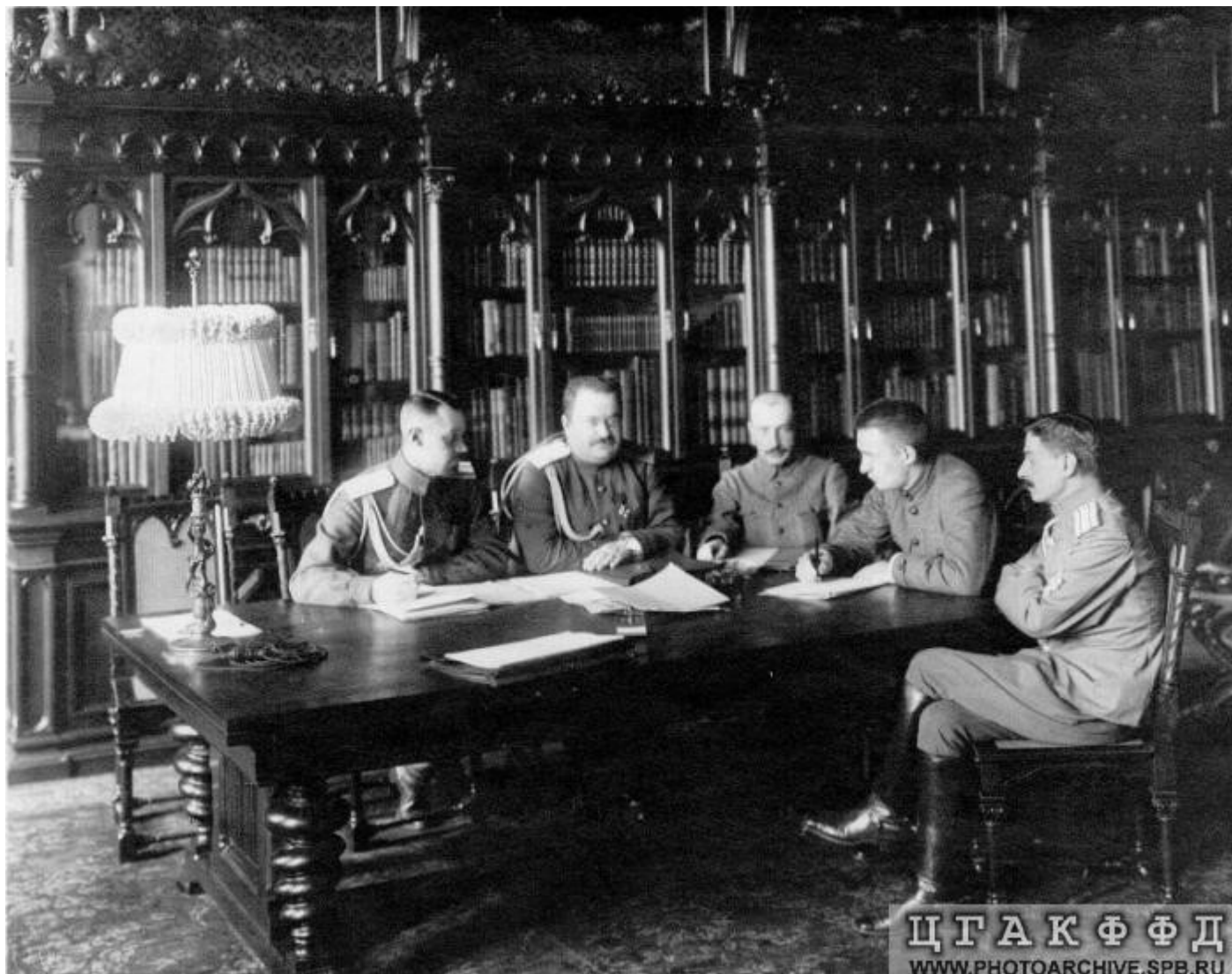
Source: http://www.ihr.org/jhr/v14/v14n1p-4_Weber.html



Russian soldiers demonstrate in the streets of Petrograd, Russia in February 1917. Czar Nicholas II of Russia abdicated his throne on March 15, 1917. Czar Nicholas II and his family were assassinated by the Bolsheviks [Communists] in Russia on July 17, 1918.



Female Russian soldiers guard the Winter Palace in Petrograd, Russia in 1917 while Kerensky was the Prime Minister.



Alexander Kerensky (2nd right) serves as Minister of War in the provisional Russian government in May 1917.



During the summer of 1917, Russian soldiers, hearing reports that the Imperial German cavalry have broken through Russian lines, throw down their guns and run in full flight, retreating in an attempt to avoid being captured or killed by the Germans. (L'Illustration)



Police officers (soldiers?) kill Russian protesters with machine guns at the Nevsky Prospekt in Petrograd (St. Petersburg) on July 4, 1917. Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky were living in Petrograd on July 4, 1917.



Russian soldiers and civilians protest in Russia during the political unrest in 1917 months before the Bolshevik Revolution.
(Source: *Russia 1917: The Unpublished Revolution* by Jonathan Sanders)

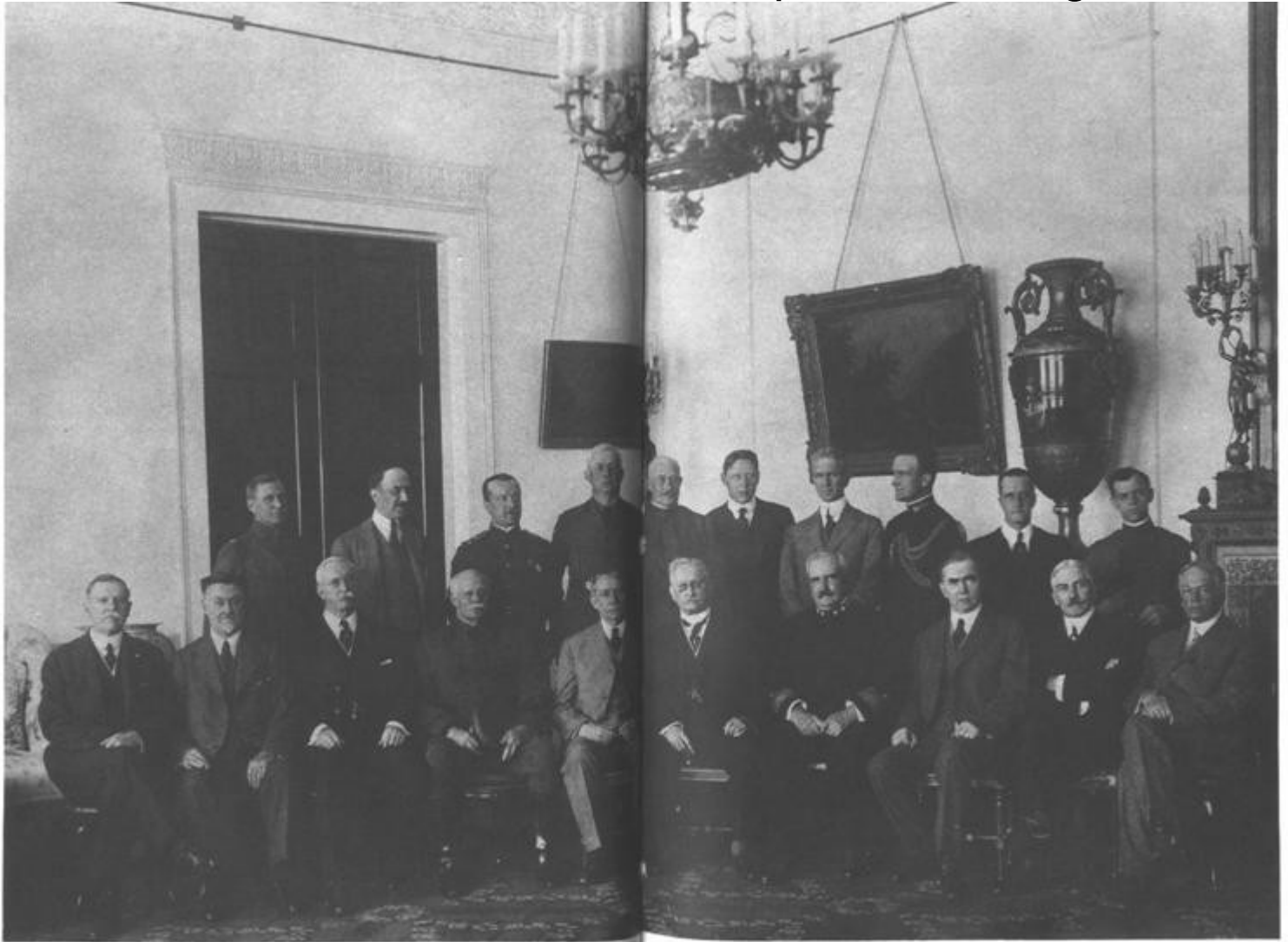


Russian workers eat in dilapidated conditions in Czarist Russia.
(Source: *Russia 1917: The Unpublished Revolution* by Jonathan Sanders)



Members of the Russian nobility eat luxuriously at a palace in St. Petersburg, Russia during World War I.
(Source: *Russia 1917: The Unpublished Revolution* by Jonathan Sanders)

The Root Mission in 1917: Diplomatic Intrigue?



Ambassador Francis with the members of the Root Mission

Immediately back of the Ambassador is General Judson. At the extreme right of the second row is Stanley Wagoner. Next to him, Basil Miles. Second from the left, seated, is Charles R. Crane.

COURTESY OF EARL M. JOHNSON

Members of the Root Mission at the Winter Palace in Petrograd (St. Petersburg), Russia in 1917. Seated from left to right: Cyrus Hall McCormick, Charles Richard Crane, James Duncan, U.S. Army General Hugh Lenox Scott, Elihu Root, U.S. Ambassador to Russia David Rowland Francis, U.S. Navy Admiral James Henry Glennon, Dr. John Raleigh Mott, Samuel Reading Bertron, and Charles Edward Russell; those standing in the second row, not members of the mission, are unidentified. Crane, Root, and Bertron were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. **Samuel Reading Bertron was a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University.** (Photo: *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Volume 1, Russia Leaves the War* by George F. Kennan)



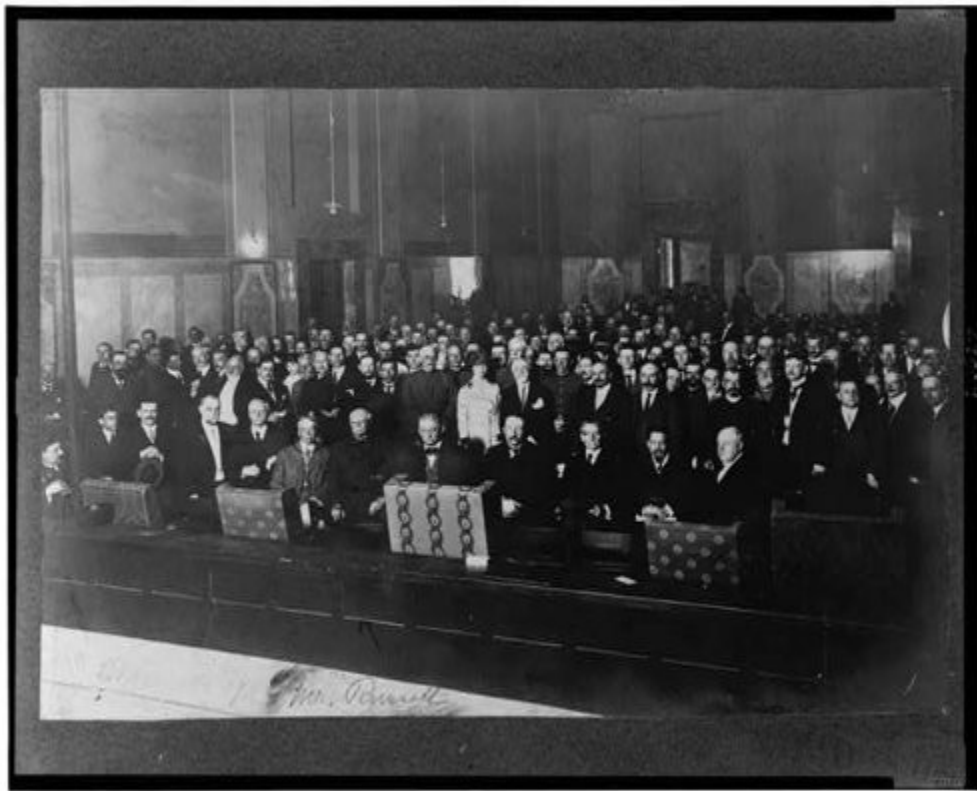
Members of the President's special diplomatic mission to Russia (Root Mission) at the Winter Palace in Petrograd (St. Petersburg), Russia in 1917. Seated from left to right: Cyrus Hall McCormick, Charles Richard Crane, James Duncan, General Hugh Lenox Scott, Elihu Root, David Rowland Francis (U.S. Ambassador to Russia), Admiral James Henry Glennon, Dr. John Raleigh Mott, Samuel Reading Bertron, and Charles Edward Russell; those standing in the second row, not members of the mission, are unidentified. **Elihu Root was the President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in 1917; Samuel Reading Bertron was a member of Skull & Bones, a secret society at Yale University.**



Courtesy of Colonel Stanley Washburn

ELIHU ROOT GREETING GENERAL BRUSILOFF AT THE RAILROAD STATION,
MOGHILEV, RUSSIA

Elihu Root, the President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, greets General Aleksei Alekseevich Brusilov (Brusiloff), Commander in Chief of the Russian Army, at a railroad station in Moghilev, Russia. Brusilov later served in the Soviet Red Army out of patriotism despite deep reservations about communism.



Members of President Woodrow Wilson's Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia in 1917. Members of the Mission standing among those in the front row are, from left to right: Charles Edward Russell, U.S. Army General Hugh Lenox Scott, U.S. Ambassador to Russia David Rowland Francis, and **Elihu Root**; to the right of Root is **Leon Trotsky**, and standing behind Root, a little to the right, at the front of the crowded room, is **Vladimir Lenin**. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



Courtesy of Colonel Stanley Washburn

ELIHU ROOT IN THE ROOM OF CATHERINE THE GREAT IN THE WINTER PALACE, PETROGRAD

Elihu Root, the **President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace** and American special envoy to Russia, sits inside the room of Catherine the Great in the Winter Palace in Petrograd [St. Petersburg], Russia in 1917.



© Wide World Photos, Inc.

ELIHU ROOT AS CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN MISSION, 1917, AT MOGHILEV, RUSSIA

(Left to right) Tereschenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Brusiloff, Commander-in-chief of the Russian armies; Elihu Root; General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, U. S. A.

Samuel R. Bertron (S&B 1885) [somewhere in the rear of the photo] was a member of the Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia [also known as the Root Mission] in 1917.

“Between 1917 and 1921 the Soviets pushed their control of Russia into Siberia and the Caucasus. As we have noted, the United States intervened in Siberia along the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Histories of U.S. intervention by George Kennan and the Soviets maintain this was an anti-Soviet intervention. In fact, it was nothing of the kind. The U.S. spread troops along the Siberian railroad only to keep out the Japanese, not to keep out the Soviets. When they left through Vladivostok, the Soviet authorities gave American forces a resounding send-off. But this is yet another untold story, not in the textbooks. The immediate problem facing the Soviets was to restore silent Russian factories. This needed raw materials, technical skills and working capital. The key to Russian reconstruction was the oil fields of the Caucasus. The Caucasus oil fields are a major segment of Russian natural resource wealth. Baku, the most important field, was developed in the 1870s. In 1900 it was producing more crude oil than the United States, and in 1901 more than half of the total world crude output. The Caucasus oil fields survived Revolution and Intervention without major structural damage and became a significant factor in Soviet economic recovery, generating about 20 percent of all exports by value; the largest single source of foreign exchange.”

– *America’s Secret Establishment: An Introduction to the Order of Skull & Bones* by Antony C. Sutton, p. 149

“You will have a revolution, a terrible revolution. What course it takes will depend much on what Mr. Rockefeller tells Mr. Hague to do. Mr. Rockefeller is a symbol of the American ruling class and Mr. Hague is a symbol of its political tools.”

– Leon Trotsky, in *The New York Times*, December 13, 1938. (Hague was a New Jersey politician)

Source: *Wall Street and The Bolshevik Revolution* By Antony C. Sutton

“Dear Mr. President: I am in sympathy with the Soviet form of government as that best suited for the Russian people...”

– Letter to President Woodrow Wilson (October 17, 1918) from William Lawrence Saunders, chairman, Ingersoll-Rand Corp.; director, American International Corp.; and deputy chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York

Source: *Wall Street and The Bolshevik Revolution* By Antony C. Sutton



STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Thompson and Robins with their Social-Revolutionary beneficiaries

Seated (l to r): William Boyce Thompson, Lazarev (old Russian revolutionist), and Kathrine Breshkovskaya (the "Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution"). *Standing*: N. V. Chaikovski, Frederick M. Corse (manager of the Russian division of the N.Y. Life Insurance Co.), Victor Soskice (Kerensky's personal secretary), Raymond Robins

William Boyce Thompson (bottom left, seated) was a **Class B Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York from 1914 to 1919** and one of the original 211 members of the Council on Foreign Relations.

(Photo: *Soviet-American Relations, 1917-1920: Volume 1, Russia Leaves the War* by George F. Kennan)

"What motive explains this coalition of capitalists and Bolsheviks? Russia was then — and is today — the largest untapped market in the world. Moreover, Russia, then and now, constituted the greatest potential competitive threat to American industrial and financial supremacy. (A glance at a world map is sufficient to spotlight the geographical difference between the vast land mass of Russia and the smaller United States.) Wall Street must have cold shivers when it visualizes Russia as a second super American industrial giant. But why allow Russia to become a competitor and a challenge to U.S. supremacy? In the late nineteenth century, Morgan/Rockefeller, and Guggenheim had demonstrated their monopolistic proclivities. In *Railroads and Regulation 1877-1916* Gabriel Kolko has demonstrated how the railroad owners, not the farmers, wanted state control of railroads in order to preserve their monopoly and abolish competition. So the simplest explanation of our evidence is that a syndicate of Wall Street financiers enlarged their monopoly ambitions and broadened horizons on a global scale. ***The gigantic Russian market was to be converted into a captive market and a technical colony to be exploited by a few high-powered American financiers and the corporations under their control.*** What the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Federal Trade Commission under the thumb of American industry could achieve for that industry at home, a planned socialist government could achieve for it abroad — given suitable support and inducements from Wall Street and Washington, D.C. Finally, lest this explanation seem too radical, remember that **it was Trotsky who appointed tsarist generals to consolidate the Red Army**; that it was Trotsky who appealed for American officers to control revolutionary Russia and intervene in behalf of the Soviets; that it was Trotsky who squashed first the libertarian element in the Russian Revolution and then the workers and peasants; and that recorded history *totally* ignores the 700,000-man Green Army composed of ex-Bolsheviks, angered at betrayal of the revolution, who fought the Whites *and* the Reds. In other words, we are suggesting that the Bolshevik Revolution was an alliance of statist: statist revolutionaries and statist financiers aligned against the genuine revolutionary libertarian elements in Russia. The question now in the readers' minds must be, were these bankers also secret Bolsheviks? No, of course not. The financiers were without ideology. It would be a gross misinterpretation to assume that assistance for the Bolsheviks was ideologically motivated, in any narrow sense. The financiers were *power-motivated* and therefore assisted *any* political vehicle that would give them an entree to power: Trotsky, Lenin, the tsar, Kolchak, Denikin — all received aid, more or less. All, that is, but those who wanted a truly free individualist society." — *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* by Antony C. Sutton, Chapter 11



Leon Trotsky (real name Lev Davidovich Bronstein) arrives in Petrograd [St. Petersburg], Russia on May 4, 1917. **Leon Trotsky lived in New York City from January 1917 to March 1917.** The October Revolution and the overthrow of the Provisional Russian Government began in Petrograd [St. Petersburg], Russia on **November 7, 1917**, Leon Trotsky's 38th birthday. Leon Trotsky was born in Russia on **November 7, 1879.**

THE 1917 AMERICAN RED CROSS MISSION TO RUSSIA

Members from Wall Street financial community and their affiliations

James W. Andrews (Liggett & Myers Tobacco)

Robert I. Barr (Chase National Bank)

Henry S. Brown (c/o William B. Thompson)

William Cochran (McCann Co.)

Cornelius Kelleher (c/o William B. Thompson)

William G. Nicholson (Swift & Co.)

Malcolm Pirnie (Hazen, Whipple & Fuller)

H. B. Redfield (Stetson, Jennings & Russell)

Raymond Robins (mining promoter)

Harold H. Swift (Swift & Co.)

Thomas Day Thacher (attorney; member of Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett law firm; member of Skull & Bones at Yale University)

William Boyce Thompson (Director of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York)

Allen Wardwell (attorney; member of Stetson, Jennings & Russell law firm; member of Scroll & Key at Yale University)

George C. Whipple (Hazen, Whipple & Fuller)

Frederick M. Corse (National City Bank)

Herbert A. Magnuson (recommended by confidential agent of Colonel William Boyce Thompson)

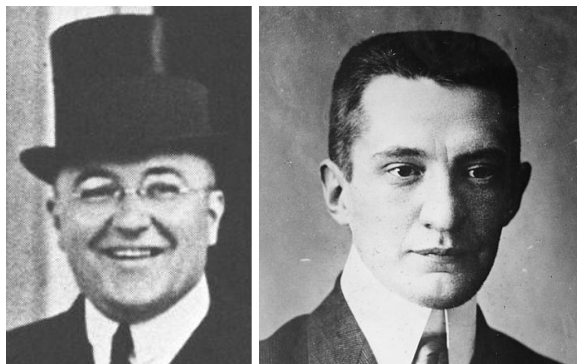


Left to right: Thomas Day Thacher, William Boyce Thompson, Allen Wardwell



The Signing of Russian War Loan in 1917. Shown: Constantine Onou, Russian Embassy; Frank L. Polk; Serge Ughet, Russian Embassy; Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo (seated, second from left), and Under Secretary of State Frank L. Polk (seated, second from right). Frank L. Polk graduated from Yale University; Frank L. Polk was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: National Photo Company Collection/Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/npc2008011467/?sid=17edd1dbb1d8ad09f943a6c3948dc8b1>



Left photo: Boris A. Bakhmeteff was the Russian Ambassador to the United States from 1917 to 1922, when the United States no longer recognized the Czarist/Provisional ("White") Government of Russia as the legitimate government of Russia. **Boris A. Bakhmeteff was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1940 to 1950.**

Right photo: Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky (1881-1970) was the Prime Minister of Russia from July 21, 1917 until November 7, 1917. Kerensky went into exile in France during the Bolshevik Revolution and lived in New York City from 1940 until his death in 1970. Kerensky supported Russia's participation in World War I following the abdication of Czar Nicholas II despite mass desertion and mutiny by Russian soldiers.



Leon Trotsky inspects the Red Army in 1921.



Robins and Gumberg with Russian and American acquaintances

COURTESY OF CHARLES STEPHENSON SMITH

In front row, l to r, are Raymond Robins, police chief Peters, unknown Russian (possibly Karakhan), Russian boy mascot of the Red Cross Commission, Alexander Gumberg, and Charles Stephenson Smith, Associated Press correspondent

Members of the [American] Red Cross Commission pose for photographers in Russia in 1917.

Lenin's Arrival from Switzerland via Berlin & The October Revolution



Russian Communist terrorist Vladimir Lenin (right, holding an umbrella) takes a stroll in the streets of Stockholm, Sweden on April 13, 1917 [March 31, 1917 Russian [Julian] calendar]. Lenin and his comrades departed Zurich, Switzerland aboard a German boxcar train on April 6, 1917. The Imperial German government escorted Lenin his comrades aboard a "sealed" train from the Swiss-German border to Berlin and later from Berlin to the Baltic Sea. Lenin met with his German "sponsors" (German intelligent agents) in Berlin and apparently received money before returning to Petrograd to establish a Communist regime in Russia.

(Photo: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/marxists/archive/lenin/media/image/1917.htm>)



Godfathers of the Soviet Union: Vladimir Lenin (left) and Leon Trotsky



Red Army commander Leon Trotsky (right of podium) watches the crowd as Vladimir Lenin delivers a speech at Sverdlov Square in Moscow on May 5, 1920.



Left: Fake passport used by Vladimir Lenin to cross into Finland to escape Provisional Russian government.

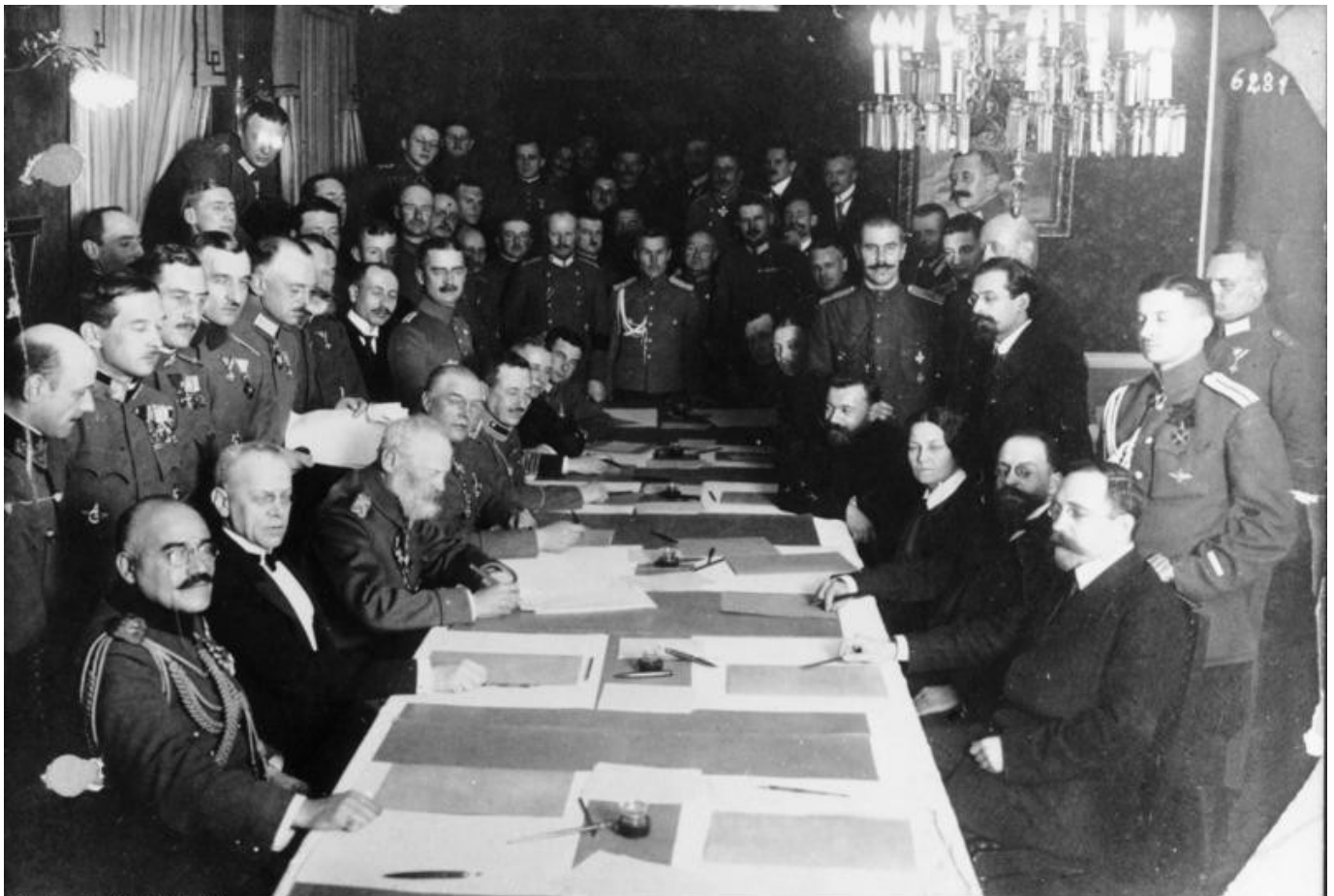
(Photo: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/marxists/archive/lenin/media/image/1917.htm>)



Right: A large group of Soviet soldiers reenacts the storming of the Winter Palace in Petrograd on the third anniversary of the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution on November 7, 1920.



German officers escort Russian Jewish Communist terrorist Leon Trotsky (center) at a train station in Brest-Litvosk on December 27, 1917 as Leon Trotsky and his Russian delegates prepare to attend the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference. (Photo: CORBIS)



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-R92623
Foto: o. Ang. | 15. Dezember 1917

Germany, Austria and Russia sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on March 3, 1918, ending Russia's involvement in World War I, and leading to the independence of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Ukraine (until 1920). (Photo: [German Federal Archives](#))



Russian Communist leader Vladimir Lenin presides over a meeting of the Bolshevik Council of People's Commissars, or Sovnarkom, in 1917 attended by Leon Trotsky. (Photo: © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



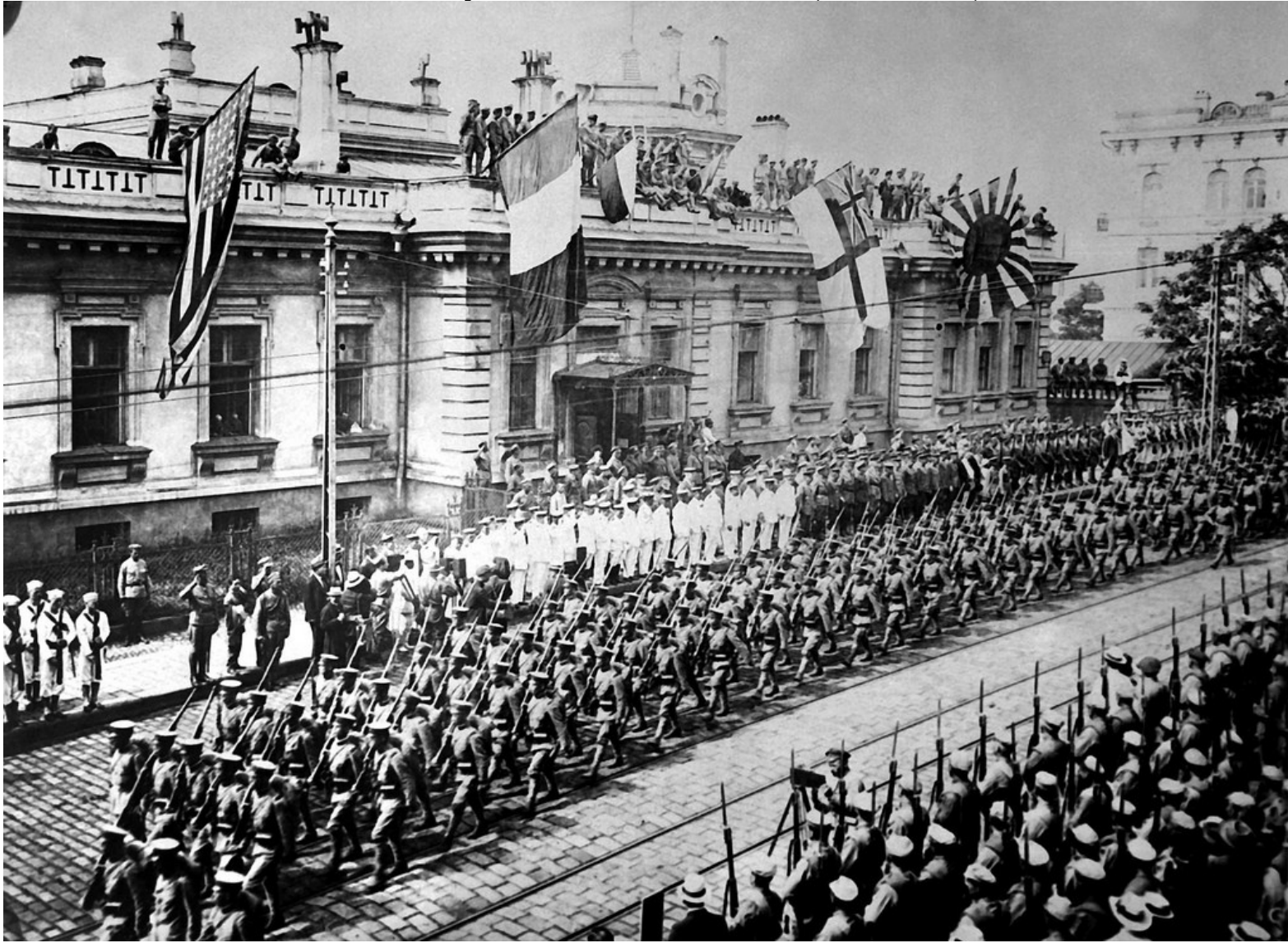
The Eighth Bolshevik Party Congress in 1919. Stalin appears with Lenin and his fellow Commissars. M. I. Kalinin is on Lenin's left.



A portrait of New York City businessman William Lawrence Saunders (Photo: Library of Congress)

“Dear Mr. President: I am in sympathy with the Soviet form of government as that best suited for the Russian people...”
– Letter to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (October 17, 1918) from William Lawrence Saunders, Chairman of the board of Ingersoll-Rand Corp., director of American International Corp., and Deputy Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York (Source: *Wall Street and The Bolshevik Revolution* By Antony C. Sutton)

Allied Military Intervention in Russia (1918-1919)



Soldiers and sailors from many countries are lined up in front of the Allied Headquarters Building in Vladivostok, Russia in September 1918. The various flags flying in front of the Allied Headquarters Building include the (from left to right) American flag, French flag, British (military?) flag, and Imperial Japanese flag. (Photo: Underwood & Underwood)



A painting of the landing of the Japanese army at Vladivostok, Russia during the Russian Civil War in 1919. The two ships in the background appear to be American vessels with American stars and stripes flags hoisted atop the ships. The "tricolor flag" displayed below the Japanese flag ("Rising Sun") on a flagpole on the right is the provisional Russian flag representing "White Russia." (Painting: Tokyo: Shobido & Co.)

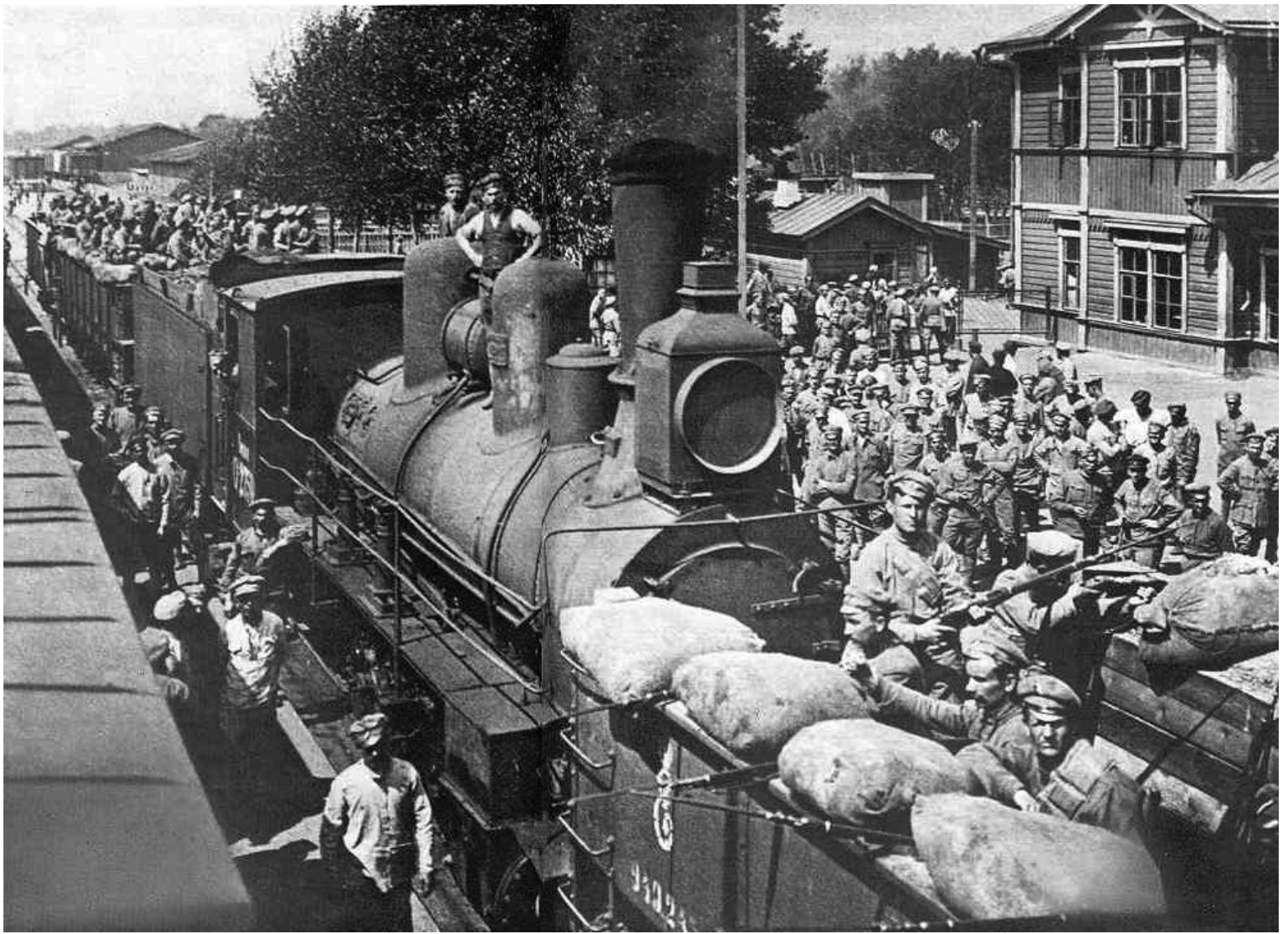


Japanese marines (left) are seen standing at attention as American troops in Vladivostok march in a parade on August 1, 1918 in front of the building occupied by the staff of the Czecho-Slovaks. (Photo: Underwood & Underwood/National Archives)

http://www.dodmedia.osd.mil/DVIC_View/Still_Details.cfm?SDAN=HDSN9902013&JPGPath=/Assets/Still/1999/DoD/HD-SN-99-02013.JPG



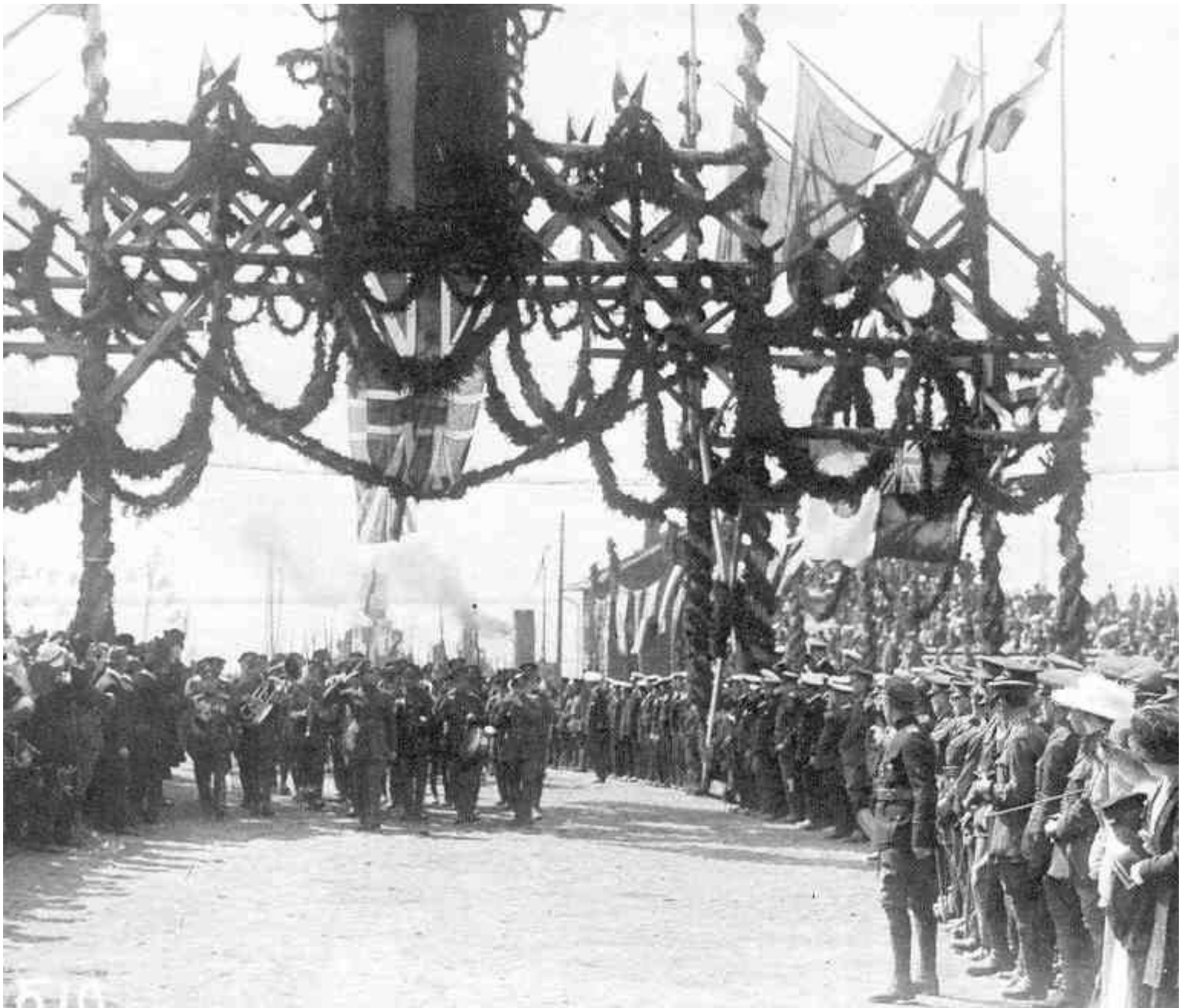
Signal Corps Photographic Unit with American Expeditionary Force in Archangel, Russia during the Russian Civil War on June 25, 1919. Lieutenant Charles I. Reid (left) and Master Signal Electrician Grier M. Shotwell (right) operate a movie camera. In the background is the Monastery Church of Archangel. (Photo: [Military Photos](#))



The Czech Legion as it is about to embark east across Siberia in the hope of getting home -- by sea via Vladivostok.
(Photo: U.S. Signal Corps, National Archives)



American soldier ladling out soup to a Russian prisoner in Archangel, Russia during the Russian Civil War
(Photo: U.S. Signal Corps, National Archives)



British troops arrive in Archangel, Russia in early 1919 to replace the American troops who will be going home.
(Photo: U.S. Signal Corps, National Archives)



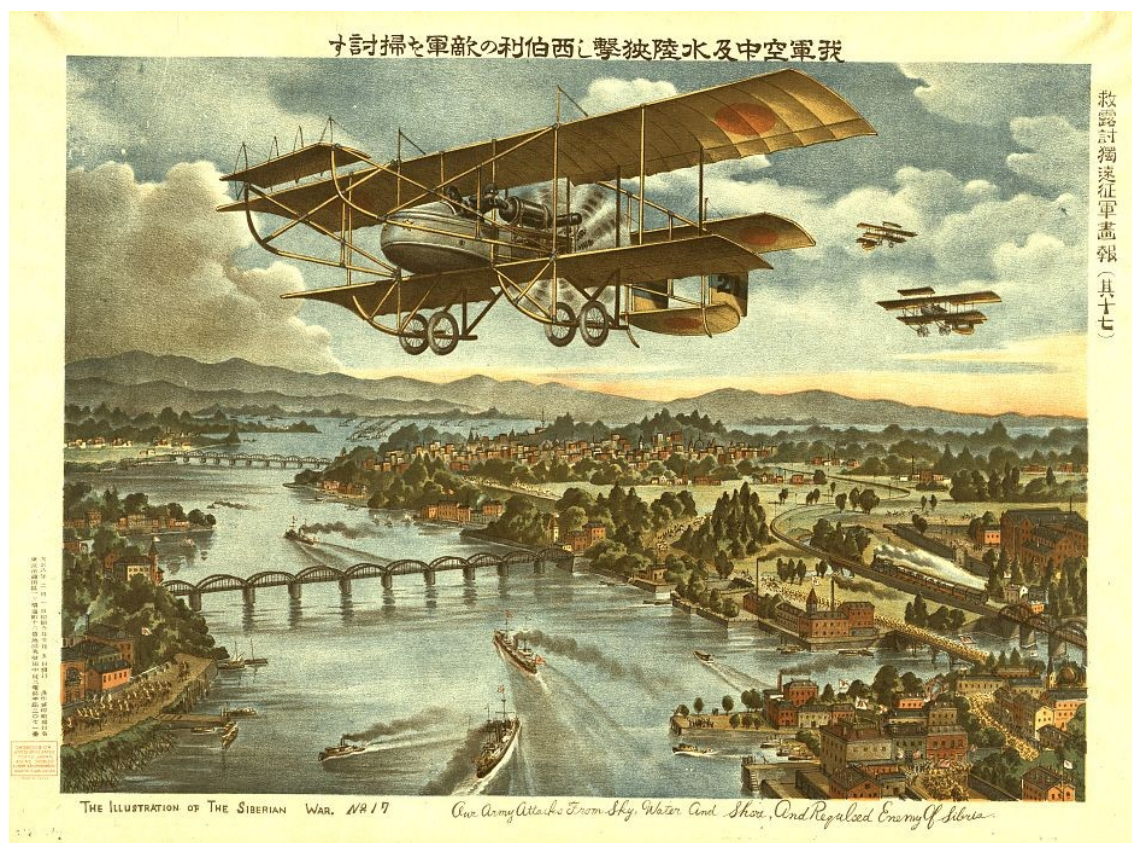
American soldiers escort 17 of their dead on a railroad track out of Romonofska, Siberia during the Russian Civil War (National Archives)



Imperial Japanese Army troops march in Vladivostok, Russia in 1921 during the Russian Civil War.



The Illustration of The Siberian War and the Bolshevik Revolution: The Japanese Army occupies Vragaeschensk [Blagoveshchensk] in 1919. (Illustration: Shobido & Co. (Tokyo)/U.S. Library of Congress)

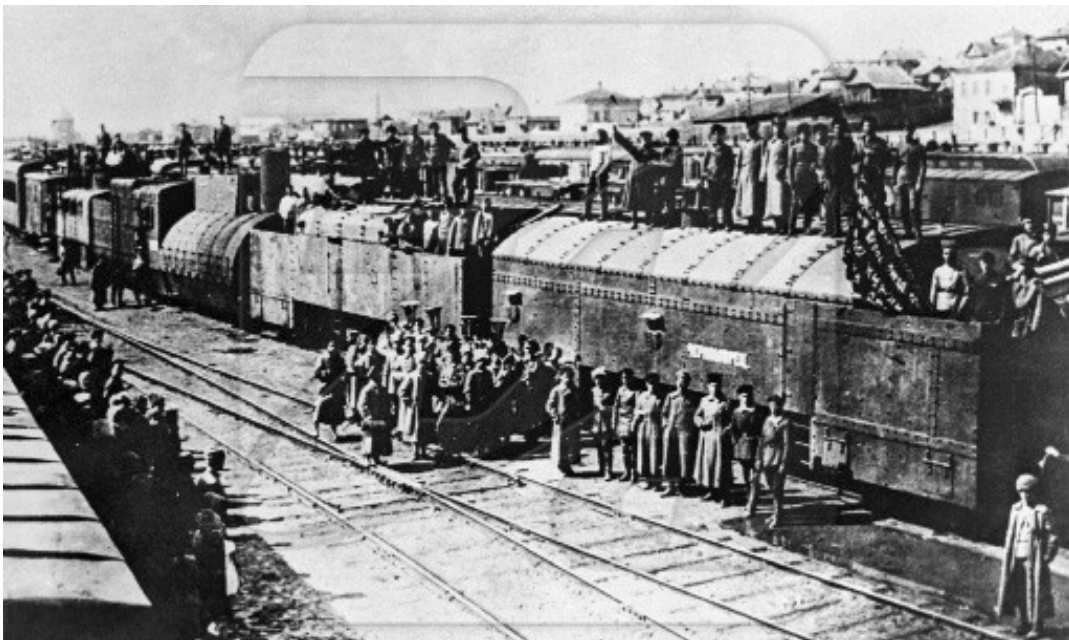


Imperial Japanese military occupation of the Russian city of Khabarovsk during the Russian Civil War in 1919. (Illustration: Shobido & Co. (Tokyo)/U.S. Library of Congress)

Russian Civil War (1917-1922)



Russian White soldiers stand over the bodies of dead Bolsheviks in 1919 during the Russian Civil War. (The Bettmann Archive)



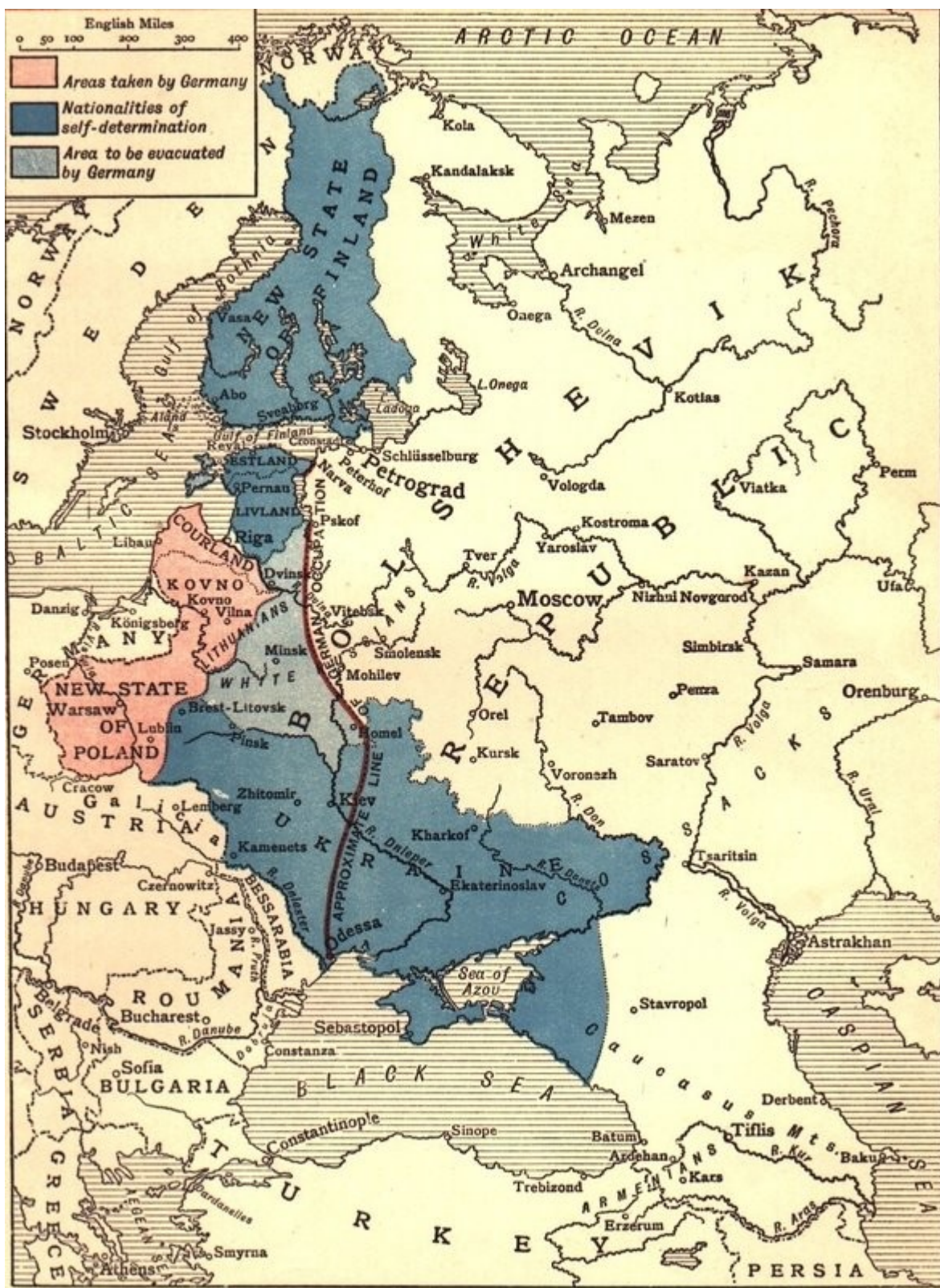
Leon Trotsky and his Soviet Red Army utilized armored trains during the Russian Civil War.



A group of Russian soldiers stand next to the remains of what appears to be Russian Communist rebels and Soviet Red Army soldiers. (Photo: Lt. William C Jones/Allied Expeditionary Force Siberia)



Red Army troops advance against the White Army in the Crimea in late 1919 during the Russian Civil War.



Details of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk that the Bolsheviks signed on March 3, 1918



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Map of area under Bolshevik control in 1919



Map of Anti-Bolshevik Occupied Territories in 1919 and 1920



Members of the Russian separatist Far Eastern Republic government. The photo was taken in November, 1921. The “Far Eastern Republic” lasted from 1920 until 1922 when the Soviet Red Army invaded Vladivostok in 1922.

Prominent Commissars of the Soviet Union (1917-1991)

Central Committee of the Communist Party in 1917

<http://marxists.org/>



A. Rykov 1881-1938
Soviet Premier
Shot



N. Bukharin 1888-1938
Politburo
Shot



Y. Sverdlov 1885-1919
President CC
Typhoid



J. Stalin 1879-1953
General Secretary
Cerebral Hemorrhage



G. Zinoviev 1883-1936
Politburo
Shot



M. Uritsky 1873-1918
NKVD
Civil War



L. Trotsky 1879-1940
Commissar Red Army
Assassinated



L. Kamenev 1883-1936
Chairman CC
Shot



V. Lenin 1870-1924
Soviet Premier
Stroke



A. Kollantai 1872-1952
Ambassador Norway
Heart Attack



I. Smilga 1892-1938
Military Rev. Comm.
Shot



A. Joffe 1883 - 1927
Commissar Foreign Affairs
Suicide



V. Nogin 1894-1926
CPC
Natural causes



A. Bubnov 1883-1940
Directorate Red Army
Died in prison



F. Dzerzhinsky 1877-1926
Comm. NKVD
Heart Attack



M.K. Muranov 1873-1959
CC
Natural Causes



G. Lomov 1888-1938
VSNKh
Shot



S. Shaumyan 1878-1918
Baku CPC
Civil War



J. Berzin 1890-1935
NKVD
Strangled



V. Milyutin 1884-1937
VSNKh
Shot



S. Artem 1883-1921
Comm. NKVD
Train Crash



E. Stassova 1873-1966
Secretary CC
Natural Causes



N. Krestinsky 1883-1938
Comm. Intl. Affairs
Shot



P. Dzharparidze 1880-1918
Baku CPC
Civil War



G. Sokolnikov 1886-1939
Commissar for Finances
Died in prison



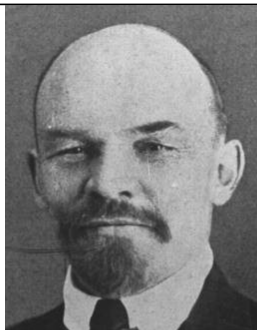
A.S. Kiselev (1879-1937)
VSNKh
Shot



Lev Kamenev
Deputy Chairman of the
Council of People's
Commissars of the Soviet
Union (1923-1926)
**Executed in Moscow on
August 25, 1936**



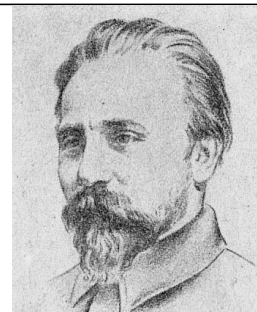
Leon Trotsky
Soviet Commissar of War
(1919-1925); Soviet
Commissar of Foreign
Affairs (1917-1918)
**Assassinated in Mexico
on August 21, 1940**



Vladimir Lenin
Commissar of the Soviet
Union (1917-1924)



Grigori Sokolnikov
Soviet [People's]
Commissar of Finance
(1922-1926)
**Murdered in prison on
May 21, 1939**



Nikolai Pavlovich
Bryukhanov
Soviet [People's]
Commissar of Finance
(1926-1930)
**Executed in Moscow on
September 1, 1938**



Nikolay Krestinsky
Soviet Ambassador to
Germany (1921-1930);
People's Commissar for
Finance of the Russian
SFSR (1918-1922);
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Genrikh Grigoryevich
Yagoda
People's Commissar for
Internal Affairs (NKVD)
(1934-1936)
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Alexei Rykov
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars
of the Soviet Union (1924-
1930); **Executed in
Moscow on March 15,
1938**



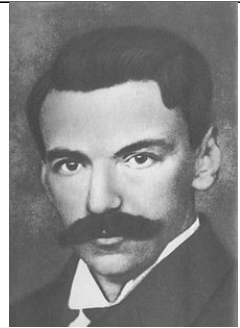
Nikolai Bukharin
Chairman of the
Communist International
(Comintern, 1926-1929);
Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*
(1918-1929);
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Christian Rakovsky
Soviet Ambassador to
France (1925-1927);
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars
of the Ukrainian SSR
(1919-1923); **Executed
on September 11, 1941**



Adolph Abramovich Joffe
Soviet Ambassador to
China (1922-1923); Head
of Soviet delegation to
Brest-Litovsk conference
(1917-1918)



Vyacheslav Rudolfovich
Menzhinsky
Chairman of the OGPU
(1926-1934)



Vlas Chubar
Soviet [People's]
Commissar of Finance
(1937-1938);
**Executed in Moscow on
February 26, 1939**



Nikolai Ivanovich Yezhov
People's Commissar for
Internal Affairs (NKVD)
(September 26, 1936 –
January 27, 1937)
**Executed in Moscow on
February 4, 1940**



Grigory Zinoviev
Head of the Communist
International; **Executed
on August 25, 1936**



Grigory Petrovsky
People's Commissar of
[NKVD](#) [Russia]
(November 17,
1917 – March 30, 1919)



Arseny Zverev
Soviet Minister of Finance
(1938-1948, 1948-1960)



Leonid Krasin
Soviet Ambassador to
France (1924-1925);
Soviet [People's]
Commissar for Foreign
Trade (1923-1925)



Moisei Uritsky
Chief of Cheka of
Petrograd (March 10,
1918-Aug. 17, 1918);
**Assassinated on
August 17, 1918**



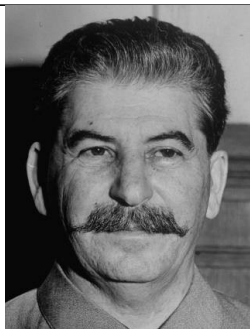
Andrei Bubnov
Chief of Soviet Red Army
Political Directory
(1924-1929)



Nikita Khrushchev
First Secretary of the
Communist Party of the
Soviet Union (1953-1964)



Leonid Brezhnev
Secretary-General of the
Soviet Communist Party
(1966-1982)



Josef Stalin
Commissar of the Soviet
Union (1924-1953);
People's Commissar for
Defence (1941-1947)



Aleksei Kosygin
Premier of the Soviet
Union (1964-1980)



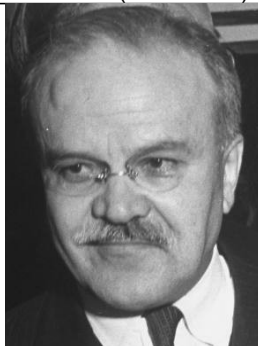
Mikhail Gorbachev
Secretary-General of the
Soviet Communist Party
(1985-1991)



Georgy Chicherin
Soviet [People's]
Commissar for Foreign
Affairs (1918-1930)



Maxim Maximovich
Litvinov
Foreign Minister of the
Soviet Union (1930-1939)
Soviet Ambassador to the
U.S. (1941-1943)



Vyacheslav Molotov
Foreign Minister of the
Soviet Union (1939-1949,
1953-1956)



Andrey Vyshinsky
Foreign Minister of the
Soviet Union (1949-1953)



Andrei Gromyko
Foreign Minister of the
Soviet Union (1957-1985);
Soviet Ambassador to the
U.S. (1943-1946)



Anatoly Dobrynin
Soviet Ambassador to the
U.S. (1962-1986)



Eduard Shevardnadze
Foreign Minister of the
Soviet Union (1985-
1990); President of
Georgia (1992-2003)



Konstantin Uamsky
Soviet Ambassador to the
U.S. (1939-1941); Soviet
Ambassador to Mexico
(1943-1945)



Nikolai Bulganin
Soviet Minister of Defence
(1947-1949, 1953-1955)
and Premier of the Soviet
Union (1955-1958)



Kliment Voroshilov
People's Commissar for
Defence (1925-1940);
Chairman of Presidium of
the Supreme Soviet of the
Soviet Union (1953-1960)



Mikhail Ivanovich Kalinin
Chairman of the
Presidium of the Supreme
Soviet of the Soviet Union
(1922-1946)



Yuri Andropov
Chairman of the
Committee for State
Security (KGB)
(1967-1982)



Felix Dzerzhinsky
inaugural Director of
Cheka (Soviet
intelligence, later KGB)
(1917-1922); Director of
the OGPU (1923-1926)



Lavrentiy Pavlovich Beria
Soviet Minister of Internal
Affairs (1938-1945, 1953);
head of atomic research
program in late 1940s;
**Executed in Moscow on
December 23, 1953**



Sergei Kruglov
Soviet Minister of Internal
Affairs (1945-1953, 1953-
1956)

Prominent Jewish Communists (Soviet Union, Germany, & Hungary)



Hungarian Communist agent Bela Kun (formerly Béla Kohn), the Foreign Minister of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, delivers a speech in Budapest, Hungary in 1919. **The Hungarian Soviet Republic lasted from March 21, 1919 to August 1, 1919.** Bela Kun had launched a “red terror” of secret police against “enemies” of the regime while in office. Bela Kun, a Jewish Communist, was a member of the Soviet Communist Party; Bela Kun was arrested by the Soviet secret police and tried in Moscow in 1938; Bela Kun was executed in August 1938.



Left photo: Eugen Levine (May 10, 1883 – July 5, 1919), a Jewish Communist born in St. Petersburg, Russia, was the leader of the Bavarian Soviet Republic from April 12, 1919 to May 3, 1919. Levine was exiled to Siberia for his participation in the Russian Revolution of 1905. Levine was arrested by German authorities, found guilty, and was shot by firing squad in Stadelheim Prison in Munich on July 5, 1919.

Right photos: **German “Spartacist” Communist rebels Rosa Luxemburg (left) and Karl Liebknecht were executed by the German army in Berlin during the failed Spartacus uprising in Berlin on January 15, 1919.** Both Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht came from middle-class Jewish families. Rosa Luxemburg met Russian Communist Vladimir Lenin at the Russian Social Democrats’ Fifth Party Day in London in 1907.



Left: Leon Trotsky [Lev Davidovich Bronstein] (Soviet Military Commissar, 1919-1925)

Center: Lev Borisovich [Rozenfeld] Kameney (Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Soviet Union, 1923-1926)

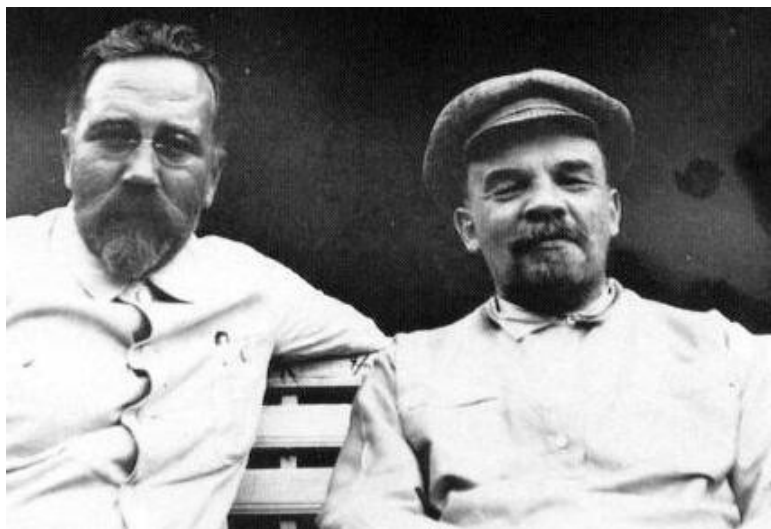
Right: Grigory Yakovlevich Sokolnikov (Soviet Finance Commissar, 1922-1926)



Left: Adolph Abramovich Joffe (1883-1927), Head of Soviet delegation to Brest-Litovsk conference (1917-1918)

Center: Grigory Yevseevich Zinoviev (1883-1936), Head of the Communist International; executed on August 25, 1936

Right: Moisei Solomonovich Uritsky (1873-1918), Chief of Cheka of Petrograd (March 10, 1918-Aug. 17, 1918); assassinated on Aug. 17, 1918



Lev Borisovitch Kameniev (left) appears with Soviet ruler Vladimir Ilyich Lenin in circa 1920-1922.

“The corruption, incompetence, and oppression of the czarist regime was forgotten at the outbreak of war in 1914 as most Russians, even those who were sent into battle with inadequate training and inadequate weapons’ rallied to the cause of Holy Mother Russia in an outburst of patriotism. This loyalty survived the early disasters of 1914 and 1915 and was able to rally sufficiently to support the great Brusilov offensive against Austria in 1916. But the tremendous losses of men and supplies in this endless warfare, the growing recognition of the complete incompetence and corruption of the government, and the growing rumors of the pernicious influence of the czarina and Rasputin over the czar served to destroy any taste that the Russian masses might have had, for the war. This weakening of morale was accelerated by the severe winter and semi-starvation of 1916-1917. Public discontent showed itself in March 1917, when strikes and rioting began in Petrograd. Troops in the capital refused to suppress these agitations, and the government soon found itself to be helpless. When it tried to dissolve the Duma, that body refused to be intimidated, and formed a provisional government under Prince Lvov. In this new regime there was only one Socialist, Minister of Justice Alexander Kerensky. Although the new government forced the abdication of the czar, recognized the independence of Finland and Poland, and established a full system of civil liberties, it postponed any fundamental social and economic changes until the establishment of a future constituent assembly, and it made every effort to continue the war. In this way it failed to satisfy the desires of large numbers of Russians for land, bread, and peace. Powerful public feeling against efforts to continue the war forced the resignation of several of the more moderate members of the government, including Prince Lvov, who was replaced by Kerensky. The more radical Socialists had been released from prison or had returned from exile (in some cases, such as Lenin, by German assistance); their agitations for peace and land won adherents from a much wider group than their own supporters, and especially among the peasantry, who were very remote from Socialist sympathies or ideas but were insisting on an end to the war and a more equitable system of land ownership.”
– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 385-386

“In St. Petersburg and Moscow and in a few other cities, assemblies of workers, soldiers, and peasants, called soviets, were formed by the more radical Socialists in opposition to the Provisional Government. The Bolshevik group, under Lenin's leadership, put on a powerful propaganda campaign to replace the Provisional Government by a nationwide system of soviets and to adopt an immediate program of peace and land distribution. It cannot be said that the Bolshevik group won many converts or increased in size very rapidly, but their constant agitation did serve to neutralize or alienate support for the Provisional Government, especially among the soldiers of the two chief cities. On November 7, 1917, the Bolshevik group seized the centers of government in St. Petersburg and was able to hold them because of the refusal of the local military contingents to support the Provisional Government. Within twenty-four hours this revolutionary group issued a series of decrees which abolished the Provisional Government, ordered the transfer of all public authority in Russia to soviets of workers, soldiers, and peasants, set up a central executive of the Bolshevik leaders, called the “Council of People's Commissars,” and ordered the end of the war with Germany and the distribution of large land-holdings to the peasants. The Bolsheviks had no illusions about their position in Russia at the end of 1917. They knew that they formed an infinitesimal group in that vast country and that they had been able to seize power because they were a decisive and ruthless minority among a great mass of persons who had been neutralized by propaganda. There was considerable doubt about how long this neutralized condition would continue. Moreover, the Bolsheviks were convinced, in obedience to Marxist theory, that no real Socialist system could be set up in a country as industrially backward as Russia. And finally, there was grave doubt if the Western Powers would stand idly by and permit the Bolsheviks to take Russia out of the war or attempt to establish a Socialist economic system. To the Bolsheviks it seemed to be quite clear that they must simply try to survive on a day-today basis, hope to keep the great mass of Russians neutralized by the achievement of peace, bread, and land, and trust that the rapid advent of a Socialist revolution in industrially advanced Germany would provide Russia with an economic and political ally which could remedy the weaknesses and backwardness of Russia itself.”
– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 386

“From 1917 to 1921 Russia passed through a period of almost incredible political and economic chaos. With counterrevolutionary movements and foreign interventionist forces appearing on all sides, the area under Bolshevik control was reduced at one time to little more than the central portions of European Russia. Within the country there was extreme economic and social collapse. Industrial production was disorganized by the disruption of transportation, the inadequate supply of raw materials and credit, and the confusions arising from the war, so that there was an almost complete lack of such products as clothing, shoes, or agricultural tools. By 1920 industrial production in general was about 13 percent of the 1913 figure. **At the same time, paper money was printed so freely to pay for the costs of war, civil war, and the operation of the government that prices rose rapidly and the ruble became almost worthless.** The general index of prices was only three times the 1913 level in 1917 but rose to more than 16,000 times that level by the end of 1920. Unable to get either industrial products or sound money for their produce the peasants planted only for their own needs or hoarded their surpluses. Acreage under crops was reduced by at least one-third in 1916-1920, while yields fell even more rapidly, from 74 million tons of grain in 1916 to 30 million tons in 1919 and to less than 20 million tons in 1920. The decrease in 1920 resulted from drought; this became so much worse in 1921 that the crops failed completely. Loss of life in these two years of famine reached five million, although the American Relief Administration came into the country and fed as many as ten million persons a day (in August 1922). In the course of this chaos and tragedy the Bolshevik regime was able to survive, to crush counterrevolutionary movements, and to eliminate foreign interventionists. They were able to do this because their opponents were divided, indecisive, or neutralized, while they were vigorous, decisive, and completely ruthless. The chief sources of Bolshevik strength were to be found in the Red Army and the secret police, the neutrality of the peasants, and the support of the proletariat workers in industry and transportation. The secret police (Cheka) was made up of fanatical and ruthless Communists who systematically murdered all real or potential opponents. The Red Army was recruited from the old czarist army but was rewarded by high pay and favorable food rations. Although the economic system collapsed almost completely, and the peasants refused to supply, or even produce, food for the city population, the Bolsheviks established a system of food requisitions from; the peasants and distributed this food by a rationing system which rewarded their supporters. The murder of the imperial family by the Bolsheviks in July 1918 removed this possible nucleus for the counterrevolutionary forces, while the general refusal of these forces to accept the revolutionary distribution of agricultural lands kept the peasants neutral in spite of the Bolshevik grain requisitions. Moreover, the peasants were divided among themselves by the Bolshevik success in splitting them so that the poorer peasants banded together to divert much of the burden of grain requisitions onto their more affluent neighbors.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 386-388

“The most acute problem facing the revolutionary regime at the end of 1917 was the war with Germany. At first the Bolsheviks tried to end the fighting without any formal peace, but the Germans continued to advance, and the Bolsheviks were compelled to sign the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (March 1918). By this treaty Russia lost all the western borderlands, including Poland, the Ukraine, and the Baltic areas. The German forces tried, with little success, to obtain economic resources from the Ukraine, and soon advanced far beyond the boundaries established at Brest-Litovsk to occupy the Don Valley, the Crimea, and the Caucasus. In various parts of Russia, notably in the south and the east, counter-revolutionary armies called "Whites" took the field to overthrow the Bolsheviks. The Cossacks of the Don under L. G. Kornilov, Anton Denikin, and Pëtr Wrangel occupied the Caucasus, the Crimea, and the Ukraine after the Germans withdrew from these areas. In Siberia a conservative government under Admiral Aleksandr Kolchak was set up at Omsk and announced its intention to take over all of Russia (late 1918). A group of 40,000 armed Czechoslovaks who had deserted from the Habsburg armies to fight for Russia turned against the Bolsheviks and, while being evacuated to the east along the Trans-Siberian Railway, seized control of that route from the Volga to Vladivostok (summer 1918). Various outside Powers also intervened in the Russian chaos. An allied expeditionary force invaded northern Russia from Murmansk and Archangel, while a force of Japanese and another of Americans landed at Vladivostok and pushed westward for hundreds of miles. The British seized the oil fields of the Caspian region (late 1918), while the French occupied parts of the Ukraine about Odessa (March 1919). Against these various forces the Bolsheviks fought with growing success, using the new Red Army and the Cheka, supported by the nationalized industrial and agrarian systems. While these fought to preserve the revolutionary regime within Russia, various sympathizers were organized outside the country. The Third International was organized under Grigori Zinoviev to encourage revolutionary movements in other countries. Its only notable success was in Hungary where a Bolshevik regime under Béla Kun was able to maintain itself for a few months (March-August 1919). By 1920 Russia was in complete confusion. At this point the new Polish government invaded Russia, occupying much of the Ukraine. A Bolshevik counterattack drove the Poles back to Warsaw where they called upon the Entente Powers for assistance. General Weygand was sent with a military mission and supplies. Thus supported, Poland was able to re-invade Russia and impose the Treaty of Riga (March 1921). This treaty established a Polish-Russian boundary 150 miles east of the tentative “Curzon Line” which had been drawn along the ethnographic frontier by the Western Powers in 1919. By this act Poland took within its boundaries several millions of Ukrainians and White Russians and ensured a high level of Soviet-Polish enmity for the next twenty years.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 388-389

“Much of the burden of this turmoil and conflict was imposed on the Russian peasantry by the agricultural requisitions and the whole system of so-called “War Communism.” **As part of this system not only were all agricultural crops considered to be government property but all private trade and commerce were also forbidden**; the banks were nationalized, while all industrial plants of over five workers and all craft enterprises of over ten workers were nationalized (1920). This system of extreme Communism was far from being a success, and peasant opposition steadily increased in spite of the severe punishments inflicted for violations of the regulations. As counterrevolutionary movements were suppressed and foreign interventionists gradually withdrew, opposition to the system of political oppression and “War Communism” increased. This culminated in peasant uprisings, urban riots, and a mutiny of the sailors at Kronstadt (March 1921). Within a week a turning point was passed; the whole system of “War Communism” and of peasant requisitioning was abandoned in favor of a “New Economic Policy” of free commercial activity in agricultural and other commodities, with the reestablishment of the profit motive and of private ownership in small industries and in small landholding. Requisitioning was replaced by a system of moderate taxation, and the pressures of the secret police, of censorship, and of the government generally were relaxed. As a result of these tactics, there was a dramatic increase in economic prosperity and in political stability. This improvement continued for two years, until, by late 1923, political unrest and economic problems again became acute. At the same time, the approaching death of Lenin complicated these problems with a struggle for power among Lenin’s successors.”

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 389

“Because the political organization of the Bolshevik regime in its first few years was on a trial-and-error basis, its chief outlines were not established until about 1923. These outlines had two quite different aspects, the constitutional and the political. Constitutionally the country was organized (in 1922) into a Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (USSR). The number of these republics has changed greatly, rising from four in 1924 and eleven in the 1936-1940 period to fifteen in the 1960's. Of these, the largest and most important was the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic (RSFSR), which covered about three-quarters of the area of the whole Union with about five-eighths of the total population. The constitution of this RSFSR, drawn up in 1918, became the pattern for the governmental systems in other republics as they were created and joined with the RSFSR to form the USSR. In this organization local soviets, in cities and villages, organized on an occupational basis, elected representatives to district, county, regional, and provincial congresses of soviets. As we shall see in a moment, these numerous levels of indirect representation served to weaken any popular influence at the top and to allow the various links in the chain to be controlled by the Communist political party. The city soviets and the provincial congresses of soviets sent representatives to an All Russian Congress of Soviets which possessed, in theory, full constitutional powers. Since this Congress of Soviets, with one thousand members, met no more than once a year, it delegated its authority to an All-Russian Central Executive Committee of three hundred members. This Executive Committee, meeting only three times a year, entrusted day-to-day administration to a Council of People's Commissars, or Cabinet, of seventeen persons. When the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics was formed in 1923 by adding other republics to the RSFSR, the new republics obtained a somewhat similar constitutional organization, and a similar system was created for the whole Union. The latter possessed a Union Congress of Soviets, large and unwieldy, meeting infrequently, and chosen by the city and provincial soviets. This Union Congress elected an equally unwieldy All-Union Central Executive Committee consisting of two chambers. One of these chambers, the Council of the Union, represented population; the other chamber, the Council of Nationalities, represented the constituent republics and autonomous regions of the Soviet Union. The Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR was transformed, with slight changes, into a Union Council of Commissars for the whole Union. This ministry had commissars for five fields (foreign affairs, defense, foreign trade, communications, and posts and telegraphs) from which the constituent republics were excluded, as well as numerous commissars for activities which were shared with the republics. This system had certain notable characteristics. There was no separation of powers, so that the various organs of government could engage in legislative, executive, administrative, and, if necessary, judicial activities. Second, there was no constitution or constitutional law in the sense of a body of rules above or outside the government, since constitutional laws were made by the same process and had the same weight as other laws. Third, there were no guaranteed rights or liberties of individuals, since the accepted theory was that rights and obligations arise from and in the state rather than outside or separate from the state. Last, there were no democratic or parliamentary elements because of the monopoly of political power by the Communist Party. The Communist Party was organized in a system similar to and parallel to the state, except that it included only a small portion of the population. At the bottom, in every shop or neighborhood, were unions of party members called “cells.” Above these, rising level on level, were higher organizations consisting, on each level, of a party congress and an executive committee chosen by the congress of the same level. These were found in districts, in counties, in provinces, in regions, and in the constituent republics. At the top was the Central Party Congress and the Central Executive Committee chosen by it.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 389-391

“Stalin's victory over Trotsky and his personal inclination for terroristic methods of government led to decisions which marked the end of these cycles of peasant discontent. The decision to build Socialism in a single country made it necessary, it was felt, to emphasize the predominance of heavy industry in order to obtain, as quickly as possible, the basis for the manufacture of armaments (chiefly iron, steel, coal, and electrical power projects). Such projects required great masses of labor to be concentrated together and fed. Both the labor and the food would have to be drawn from the peasantry, but the emphasis on heavy industrial production rather than on light industry meant that there would be few consumers' goods to give to the peasantry in return for the food taken from them. Moreover, the drain of manpower from the peasantry to form urban labor forces would mean that those who continued to be peasants must greatly improve their methods of agricultural production in order to supply, with a smaller proportion of peasants, food for themselves, for the new urban laborers, for the growing party bureaucracy, and for the growing Red Army which was regarded as essential to defend “Socialism in a single country.” The problem of obtaining increasing supplies of food from fewer peasants without offering them consumers' industrial goods in exchange could not, according to Stalin, be worked in a peasant regime based on freedom of commerce, as under the NEP of 1921-1927, or in one based on individual farmers, as in the “War Communism” of 1918-1921; the former of these required that the peasants be given goods in exchange while the latter could be made a failure by peasant refusals to produce more food than was required by their own needs. The NEP could not find a solution to this problem. In spite of the closing of the scissors in 1923-1927, industrial prices remained higher than farm prices, peasants were reluctant to supply food to the cities since they could not get the cities' products they wanted in return, and the amount of peasants' grain which was sold remained about 13 percent of the grain raised in 1927 compared to 26 percent in 1913. Such a system might provide a high standard of living for the peasants, but it could never provide the highly industrialized basis necessary to support “Socialism in a single country.”

The new direction which Russia's development took after 1927 and which we call “Stalinism” is a consequence of numerous factors. Three of these factors were (1) the bloodthirsty and paranoiac ambitions of Stalin and his associates, (2) a return of Russia to its older traditions, but on a new level and a new intensity, and (3) a theory of social, political, and economic developments which is included under the phrase “Socialism in a single country.” This theory was embraced with such an insane fanaticism by the rulers of the new Russia, and provided such powerful motivations for Soviet foreign and domestic politics, that it must be analyzed at some length. The rivalry between Stalin and Trotsky in the mid-1920's was fought with slogans as well as with more violent weapons. Trotsky called for “world revolution,” while Stalin wanted “Communism in a single country.” According to Trotsky, Russia was economically too weak and too backward to be able to establish a Communist system alone. Such a system, all agreed, could not exist except in a fully

industrialized country. Russia, which was so far from being industrialized, could obtain the necessary capital only by borrowing it abroad or by accumulating it from its own people.” – *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, p. 394-395

“In an extremely difficult situation, Lenin had insisted upon coming to power. It seems that he should have had a formulated program through which the great promise of socialism (or communism) could be fulfilled. The old vexatious system of ranks and classes (chin) had been abolished by the democratic regime. The Bolsheviks instituted a few reforms, such as the adoption of the Western calendar and the eight-hour day (which for many years was ignored), whose introduction required no revolution. They abolished the institutions through which the economy had been directed, but were unable to invent better instruments. They advocated self-determination but did not permit it. They adopted the agricultural program of the Social Revolutionaries, but did not fulfill this program either; yet they destroyed genuine agrarian reforms which had been accomplished by the tsarist regime. Thus, the Bolsheviks cheated both the minority nationalities and the peasants, and alienated and destroyed the middle and upper classes. They claimed to speak for the proletariat but betrayed the workers. The Bolsheviks in power were not a labor government but a group of intellectuals with a slanted education. They claimed they knew how to build socialism and they promised the proletariat better treatment. While they were able to disrupt the existing system, they did not know how to fashion a workable socialist system. They even betrayed the soldiers: though they released many from duty, they failed to tell them that this act was at Germany’s bidding. They cared nothing about democratic peace, but soon were to establish a new army to fight a protracted civil war. They had lied and cheated their way to power. Now that they had seized the government, they knew how to preserve and enlarge their power but proved unable to use their strength constructively for their professed purposes. Several socialist parties and socialists from practically all groups were willing to participate in constructive work. If there had been a positive program, a broadly based government could have commanded the loyalty of the people in the true sense of the word. In the absence of constructive ideas, it would have been advisable to permit—in fact, stimulate—discussion on socialist policy. But the Bolsheviks were terrified of free debate and abolished free speech without delay. Nor did the Bolsheviks wish to share their power. They intended to rule by unrestricted dictatorship, not in the sense Lenin originally had promised (i.e., active participation by the masses in public affairs and total suppression of bureaucracy), but in the sense of unrestricted power exercised by a small minority. The Bolsheviks had so little confidence in their own ability to create that they preferred fear to mass support. They lacked the wisdom and humility to use their undoubted victory to make peace with their fellow socialists and thus spare their country an era of endless anguish. Some of the Bolsheviks with more intelligence and integrity recognized that this policy would have catastrophic results. But this program was Lenin’s brainchild and reflected his psychology. He had become the inviolate and infallible ruler. To paraphrase Santayana: after he had forgotten his aims, he was strongly motivated to redouble his efforts.” – *The Sealed Train* by Michael Pearson

“The Marburg Plan, financed by Andrew Carnegie's ample heritage, was produced in the early years of the twentieth century. It suggests premeditation for this kind of superficial schizophrenia, which in fact masks an integrated program of power acquisition: "What then if Carnegie and his unlimited wealth, the international financiers and the Socialists could be organized in a movement to compel the formation of a league to enforce peace." The governments of the world, according to the Marburg Plan, were to be socialized while the ultimate power would remain in the hands of the international financiers "to control its councils and enforce peace [and so] provide a specific for all the political ills of mankind." This idea was knit with other elements with similar objectives. Lord Milner in England provides the transatlantic example of banking interests recognizing the virtues and possibilities of Marxism. Milner was a banker, influential in British wartime policy, and pro-Marxist.¹⁰ In New York the socialist "X" club was founded in 1903. It counted among its members not only the Communist Lincoln Steffens, the socialist William English Walling, and the Communist banker Morris Hillquit, but also John Dewey, James T. Shotwell, Charles Edward Russell, and Rufus Weeks (vice president of New York Life Insurance Company). The annual meeting of the Economic Club in the Astor Hotel, New York, witnessed socialist speakers. In 1908, when A. Barton Hepburn, president of Chase National Bank, was president of the Economic Club, the main speaker was the aforementioned Morris Hillquit, who "had abundant opportunity to preach socialism to a gathering which represented wealth and financial interests." From these unlikely seeds grew the modern internationalist movement, which included not only the financiers Carnegie, Paul Warburg, Otto Kahn, Bernard Baruch, and Herbert Hoover, but also the Carnegie Foundation and its progeny *International Conciliation*. The trustees of Carnegie were, as we have seen, prominent on the board of American International Corporation. In 1910 Carnegie donated \$10 million to found the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and among those on the board of trustees were Elihu Root (Root Mission to Russia, 1917), Cleveland H. Dodge (a financial backer of President Wilson), George W. Perkins (Morgan partner), G. J. Balch (AIC and Amsinck), R. F. Herrick (AIC), H. W. Pritchett (AIC), and other Wall Street luminaries. Woodrow Wilson came under the powerful influence of — and indeed was financially indebted to — this group of internationalists. As Jennings C. Wise has written, **“Historians must never forget that Woodrow Wilson... made it possible for Leon Trotsky to enter Russia with an American passport.”** But Leon Trotsky also declared himself an internationalist. We have remarked with some interest his high-level internationalist connections, or at least friends, in Canada. Trotsky then was not pro-Russian, or pro-Allied, or pro-German, as many have tried to make him out to be. Trotsky was *for* world revolution, *for* world dictatorship; he was, in one word, an internationalist. Bolsheviks and bankers have then this significant common ground — internationalism. Revolution and international finance are not at all inconsistent if the result of revolution is to establish more centralized authority. International finance prefers to deal with central governments. The last thing the banking community wants is laissez-faire economy and decentralized power because these would disperse power. This, therefore, is an explanation that fits the evidence. This handful of bankers and promoters was not Bolshevik, or Communist, or socialist, or Democrat, or even American. Above all else these men wanted markets, preferably captive international markets — and a monopoly of the captive world market as the ultimate goal. They wanted markets that could be exploited monopolistically without fear of competition from Russians, Germans, or anyone else — including American businessmen outside the charmed circle. This closed group was apolitical and amoral. In 1917,

it had a single-minded objective — a captive market in Russia, all presented under, and intellectually protected by, the shelter of a league to enforce the peace.” – *Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution* by Antony C. Sutton, Chapter 11

“Bukharin also raised the pertinent question: what sort of State will emerge from the victory of socialism? He answered himself, rather naively, in the words of Engels, that the State will simply wither away. Lenin, even though at this time he was unable even to pay his hotel bill, threw himself into this controversy with characteristic vigour. He detected in Bukharin’s attitude a strong dose of the anarchism which the Marxists had detested in the populists. Such a doctrine gave him far too little room for manoeuvre. So he insisted that after the successful revolution there would be a long, and indefinable, period in which the Marxist party would have to use the State for its own purposes. This period is known as the dictatorship of the proletariat. There would be no withering away of the State until the final overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Lenin intended to promote a social revolution but he did not intend that this should be frustrated by the premature disappearance of state power. By one of the strange contradictions to which total war gives rise, the Bolshevik cause, almost completely estranged from the European Socialist movement, found an ally in the German General Staff. Ludendorff, who represented an ideological position exactly contrary to that of Lenin, was nevertheless interested in the possibilities of co-operation with the Bolsheviks. He had one thing in common with Lenin: he wanted to create a condition of chaos in Russia. The German government had been in contact with the Bolsheviks since the beginning of the war. The agents of this strange encounter – Helfand, Keskuela and Ganetsky – were strangely motivated. All had been members of various Marxist parties – Helfand, for example, had been closely allied to Trotsky in 1905 – but the war had enabled them to put their knowledge of the European underground to financial advantage. Helfand especially made an enormous fortune out of providing articles in short supply to anyone in any belligerent nation who would pay enough. These socialist entrepreneurs were quite capable of ‘fixing’ the transport of a few revolutionaries from Switzerland to Petrograd. Ganetsky provided the little party with a considerable sum of money as it passed through Stockholm. Much ink has been spilt in the attempt to determine whether this money came directly from the German government or whether it was part of the profit which Ganetsky derived from his own flourishing trade in contraceptives. Lenin, of course, was quite willing to use the loot of the capitalist world (from whatever source) to further his plans. Those plans were not at all influenced by the wishes of his temporary paymaster. Ludendorff’s final decision to launch Lenin was not taken until March 1917. The first Russian revolution had not done any good to the German cause. Russia was still fighting and indeed might fight still harder under the control of a more efficient nationalist government. The United States was about to declare war upon Germany. Desperate measures were required to bring the war to an end before the effective deployment of American force in Europe. The decision to use Lenin was far more successful than the Germans had hoped; so successful in fact that it not only eliminated Russia from the war but, in the end, helped to eliminate Western Europe from the centre of world affairs. Never did an heir arrive by more devious and crooked ways at the steps of the throne.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 300-301

“When Lenin reached Petrograd in April 1917 the Provisional Government had stabilised its position. Its middle-class members held most of the ministries and manipulated the Tsarist bureaucracy without difficulty; it had been recognised by the Allies with enthusiasm; and it had created a working relationship with the Soviet. The gulf between the two bodies had been temporarily bridged; some members of the Soviet had consented to take office in the Provisional Government. Provisional Government and Soviet were linked by their common resolve that the future constitution of Russia could not be determined while the war continued and while the country lived in a popular turmoil. Both groups wanted to postpone the decision about the future until calmer times returned, and both groups agreed that such a decision could only be reached democratically - that is to say, by the voice of a constituent assembly elected by universal suffrage. Both groups agreed to do nothing decisive for the time being – if the people would let them. **There was one issue, however, which could not be postponed; the question of war and peace. The Kadet Foreign Minister, Milyukov, was determined that the Tsarist war aims should be pursued by the Provisional Government. Russia would honour her agreement with the Allies not to make a separate peace; she would continue to insist upon the territorial gains promised in the secret treaties of 1915. In May he informed the Allies of his resolve to continue the Tsar's war. These views, as Milyukov knew, were violently opposed by the Socialist majority in the Soviet. They agreed that the war should be continued but only until such time as all the belligerents could accept a general democratic peace, a peace without annexations, a peace in which there would be neither victors nor vanquished.** This policy was hardly less unrealistic than that of Milyukov, but it was at least rather closer to the mood of the masses. The Milyukov note brought the crowds out into the streets of Petrograd and blood was spilt for the first time since March. The Petrograd garrison proved to be quite unreliable: it would not obey the orders of the commanding general, Kornilov, and was not even wholly amenable to the orders of the Soviet. But the most disturbing sign for moderates of all persuasions was the appearance in the streets of crowds of armed working men from the turbulent Vyborg district whose banners carried the Bolshevik slogans demanding peace at any price. These workers were obviously unwilling to accept the assurances of the Soviet leaders that Milyukov's note had been amended. The army was willing to help the Soviet to crush Milyukov's Kadet supporters but was much less enthusiastic about shooting down the Vyborg workers. The result of the May crisis was that Milyukov resigned and that the Provisional Government was reformed upon the basis of closer co-operation with the Soviet. Six moderate Socialists were included in the new cabinet which was now dominated by the Socialist lawyer Kerensky. The move towards closer union with the Provisional Government was fiercely debated in the Soviet. It was opposed by the Bolsheviks and by many

of the left-wing Mensheviks too. In fact this decision turned out to be a fatal one. The result of it was that the moderate Socialists identified themselves with a government which was increasingly out of touch with the demands of the masses for peace at any price, for land and for the socialisation of industry. These May days determined that the moderate Socialists would go over to the anti-popular side of the barricades, that they would be destroyed together with their middle-class allies. **Lenin's tactics immediately after his return had ensured that the Bolsheviks would not share the fate of the other Socialist parties. The original inclination of some of his followers to support the Provisional Government was rudely checked by the declaration of Lenin's policy contained in the 'April Theses'. He demanded an immediate end to the war, the elimination of the police, the army and the bureaucracy, the confiscation of private property in land, and that all state power should be seized by the Soviet alone. He rejected the need for a constituent assembly and claimed that the Soviet already satisfied the democratic aspirations of the masses. By adopting this position he denied his followers the possibility of taking part in any coalition government, but he did ensure that they would identify themselves with the main currents of popular discontent. He relied upon his opponents to dig their own grave, a grave which would contain all the political parties except the Bolsheviks. His tactics were to prod the Provisional Government into unpopular errors and at the same time to restrain his own followers from precipitate action which would enable his enemies to destroy the Bolsheviks before they were ready to seize power.** It would be essentially a war of words, of slogans, of ideas. For this Lenin was splendidly equipped, and the fact that the Bolshevik party was so small was actually an advantage to him. Through the newspapers, through the innumerable public meetings which were such a notable feature of the revolutionary months, Lenin could hammer home the one essential point: that the Bolsheviks were the friends of the masses and that all other political parties were their enemies. A lifetime spent in creating political schism had not blinded Lenin to the necessity for mass support; this he would get by avoiding political alliance."

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 301-303

"Kerensky was not a well-known politician, his government had no popular backing, his manner was frequently bombastic and hysterical and in the end he failed ignominiously. It is therefore easy to condemn him to the rubbish-bin of history (as Trotsky in fact did). Nevertheless Kerensky had an intelligent objective and one which he might have attained had the educated and propertied classes in Russia been less divided and more accustomed to the exercise of political power. Kerensky aimed to preserve the democratic gains of the March revolution from the attacks of **both the left and the right. He recognised that both the Bolsheviks and the Tsarists were his enemies; he hoped to play them off against each other. His first move was to secure a military victory. This would help to stem the tide of anarchy and put him into to a stronger position to persuade the Allies to accept a negotiated peace. In July the army on the south-western front, where discipline was less eroded than elsewhere, won a convincing battle against the Austrians. But after a few days the Brusilov offensive ran up against German reinforcements, and the apparent victory turned rapidly into an overwhelming defeat. The demoralised attackers fled and behind them a fresh sign of anarchy appeared in the Ukraine: a separatist government in Kiev demanded national independence, a demand which Kerensky was too weak to resist. The failure of the Brusilov offensive deepened the revolutionary mood of the Petrograd soldiers and workers. Both groups had been strongly influenced by Bolshevik propaganda against the Provisional Government; they were unable to distinguish between a military offensive launched by a Socialist minister and one launched by the Tsarist government. The crowds therefore took up the Bolshevik cry of 'All power to the Soviets' and threatened the Tauride Palace where the executive committee (known as the VTsIK) of the Congress of Soviets held its meetings. This body, dominated by the moderate Socialists, was unable to control the mob. Its members were saved from personal molestation only by the intervention of the Bolshevik leaders. 'Take power, you son of a bitch, when they give it to you', shouted one angry worker to Chernov. But the members of the VTsIK would not; their legalistic, westernised minds could not accept the fact that a body so loosely organised as the Soviet was a proper substitute for formalised, ballot-box democracy. They continued to think that the Provisional Government would remain provisional until the Constituent Assembly met. Lenin could have seized power in Petrograd during the July days. But he was still cautious; he was not yet sure that the nation would follow Petrograd. He had actually tried to prevent his followers from coming out on the streets but the popular explosion had been too strong even for the Bolshevik leaders. He consequently followed the mob movement until its violence was spent and then persuaded the crowds to go home. As soon as the Kronstadt sailors and the Putilov workers had left the streets, the Provisional Government counter-attacked. On 18 July Kerensky announced that Lenin was a German agent. There was still sufficient dormant patriotism to permit him to seize the Bolshevik not rely upon this institution even if they had a majority in it. There remained only the possibility of seizing power by force, using the Soviet as a screen behind which the Bolshevik party would grasp real power.** paper *Pravda* and to arrest many of the leading Bolsheviks. Lenin himself fled to Finland. His instinct had been correct. The social revolution had not yet gone far enough; at least one of the old landmarks still remained. Kerensky did not follow up his victory. The Bolshevik organisation remained intact and responsive to the stream of orders which reached it from Finland. The apparent defeat of 18 July gave Lenin one great tactical advantage. It enabled him to point out to his followers the revolutionary shortcomings of the Soviet. It had been offered power and it had not dared to grasp it. Lenin continued to pay lip service to the Soviet, but within the party he insisted that the Bolsheviks could not rely upon this institution even if they had a majority in it. There remained only the possibility of seizing power by force, using the Soviet as a screen behind which the Bolshevik party would grasp real power."

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 307-309

“The apparent defeat of the Bolsheviks encouraged the forces of the right to attempt a counter-revolution. Its centre was the Stavka (G.H.Q.) and its leader was the new Commander-in Chief, Kornilov. He was hardly a military conqueror- no Russian general was – but he had won some renown in colonial wars. He reminded the public of his imperial successes by making use of a Turcoman bodyguard which he addressed in their own language. These picturesque savages sat in the corridor with machine guns while their master was interviewed by the Prime Minister. Thus equipped, the old order prepared to do battle with the new. The generals plotted to restore discipline in the army by the reintroduction of the death penalty and then to march upon Petrograd and extinguish both the Bolsheviks and the Soviet. Kornilov asserted that he would do these deeds in the name of the Provisional Government, but it seems likely that had he got control of Petrograd he would not have rested until he had brought down the Kerensky regime. Kerensky was probably aware of Kornilov's ultimate objective. He foolishly assumed that he would be able to use Kornilov to crush the Bolsheviks and then turn against him. To strengthen his hand in this dangerous game of playing the extremes against one another, Kerensky tried to broaden the democratic appeal of his government. At the end of August he summoned the Moscow Conference, 2414 notabilities from all walks of life, chosen not elected. Kerensky harangued the Conference with such emotion and at such length that the audience had to applaud in order to get him to stop. The Moscow Conference achieved nothing except that Kerensky suddenly realised that rhetoric would not save him from Kornilov once the latter had entered Petrograd. He suddenly dismissed Kornilov from his post (9 September). He need not have bothered. Whatever he did or failed to do was irrelevant to the crisis. As Kornilov's troops approached Petrograd their discipline was undermined and they melted away. They were helpless even against the railwaymen who switched their trains into sidings and branch lines. The Bolshevik-controlled workers, threatened by the right-wing coup, poured into the streets to defend neither Kerensky nor the Soviet but the revolution. But this mass upsurge was not needed; Kornilov's troops never even reached the capital. The Provisional Government had been saved by its enemies. **The weakness of the Kerensky regime had been made clear to all. The generals' attempted coup benefited the Bolsheviks. They had defended Petrograd against the counter-revolution; Kerensky was suspected of having supported Kornilov; the Provisional Government was fatally compromised. Its policy of continuing the war was already unpopular; its claim to be awaiting the decision of a Constituent Assembly was thought to be merely a device to gain time for a right-wing reaction. All its supporters suffered from the decline of its authority. The moderate Socialist majority in the Soviet was blamed for permitting the Provisional Government to continue in existence. Sinister interpretations were put upon the Soviet refusal to seize power in July. In September it seemed that the revolution was in danger and that its only true friend was the Bolshevik party. The local Soviets in Petrograd and Moscow immediately reflected the swing in the mood of the masses. During September the Mensheviks and the S.R.s were dominated for the first time by Bolshevik majorities. Anarchy spread rapidly in the army and in the villages. The middle ground which the Provisional Government had tried to hold since March was crumbling away. It became clearer that the future lay with either the extreme left or the extreme right. This was the moment for which Lenin had waited, the moment for which his party had been created.** But it needed all his gifts to persuade the Bolshevik Central Committee to follow him. He could only make fleeting visits to Petrograd, equipped with a variety of not very effective disguises. Zinoviev and Kamenev directed an impassioned debate against him. They argued that to provoke a revolution was suicidal; the party merely had to wait for power to be handed to it by a democratic majority. Such a majority might be found in the second All-Russia Congress of Soviets, due to meet in Petrograd on 7 November; it might be found in the Constituent Assembly, for which elections were due at the end of November. In spite of being so close to Lenin for so long, Kamenev and Zinoviev failed completely to understand his mind. **He did not want to receive power from a democratic majority. The majority would then become his master. This the Historical Dialectic would not permit. History did not act through majorities but through classes. The Bolshevik party was not the servant of electors but the instrument of the class conflict. It spoke for the 'proletariat' – a mystical entity rather similar to the General Will. At this supreme moment, Lenin acted quite consistently with the ideas which he had developed since the beginning of the century.** Without those ideas it is doubtful whether he would have pressed for insurrection at this time. The final decision to launch the revolution was taken on 23 October. The Central Committee voted 11:2 in favour. Party discipline was such that the minority also prepared to take up position on the barricades. Even now the date for the rising was not fixed. Lenin wanted to proceed immediately but Trotsky persuaded him to wait until the eve of the meeting of the All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Trotsky argued that it would be bad tactics were the Bolsheviks to stage a revolution in their own name. The waverers in the Petrograd garrison would be gathered in if it were shown that the Bolsheviks were acting in the name of the Soviet, that they were protecting it from a counterrevolutionary blow. With considerable skill Trotsky achieved just this. The Bolsheviks in the Petrograd Soviet spread rumours that Kerensky was about to shift the garrison to the Riga front. This would enable him to fill the capital with anti-Soviet troops. In a panic, the Petrograd Soviet authorised the creation of a military revolutionary committee to organise its own defence. It was dominated by Trotsky who, in the name of the committee, not of the Bolshevik party, armed the reliable working men. Meanwhile Kerensky did nothing. He knew that the insurrection was about to take place; he looked forward to crushing it and the Bolshevik party with it. Trotsky made his dispositions for 7 November so skilfully that there was little bloodshed. The night life of the city was hardly interrupted. By dawn all the key points, with the exception of the Winter Palace, had been captured. **Kerensky fled (in a car flying the American flag) to seek out some loyal troops.** The Winter Palace was defended for a few hours by a battalion of women and a few officer cadets. Confused fighting went on along the enormous corridors. Somewhere the ministers of the Provisional Government were still conferring. The Bolshevik groups

searched everywhere but could not find the cabinet room. At length they were led there by a dignified flunkey with powdered hair. The ministers were not killed: they were escorted across the Neva towards the Peter and Paul fortress. On the bridge prisoners and escort alike had to lie down behind the parapet while some overenthusiastic revolutionaries loosed off a few volleys at them. Nobody was hurt. The Petrograd garrison remained neutral on 7 November; it was still inactive a few days later when Kerensky returned with some loyal troops and was driven off by the Bolshevik working men. **The diarist Sukhanov reckoned that at this moment 500 good troops could have wiped out the Bolsheviks.** By 8 November the Congress of Soviets had been brought to heel. About half its members were Bolsheviks. Most of the other half (Mensheviks and Right S.R.s) walked out in protest against the Bolshevik coup. They thus consigned themselves to the dustbin of history. The remainder warmly approved of what the party had done. They elected a Council of People's Commissars which was dominated by the Bolshevik Central Committee. Up to the last the Bolsheviks maintained the fiction that they had made the revolution to save the Soviet. In fact, they had shackled it to the party. The fiction that the Soviet became the new governing power has been maintained ever since 7 November 1917. Outside Petrograd the Bolsheviks were successful in most of the large cities (including Moscow). They had, however, created a situation in which civil war was inevitable. The Stavka at Mogilev served as an anti-Bolshevik rallying point for a few weeks, but soon all the generals fled south to the Cossack country around Rostov-on-Don, and Ensign Krilenko, the new Bolshevik Commander-in-Chief, seized the Stavka with a trainload of revolutionary sailors. At this point Lenin had little faith in the ability of armed men to change events. No sooner had this hunted intellectual climbed upon the throne of the Tsars than he started to address not Russia alone but the whole of Europe. He invited the working men, currently killing each other in north-east France, to overthrow their governments and to follow the Russian example. Both Lenin and Trotsky thought that the Petrograd revolution could only be saved if the revolution was successful in Western Europe. They were as wrong about that as they were right about the possibility of revolution in Petrograd."

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 309-312

"The achievement of power did not lead to any slackening in the Bolsheviks' revolutionary momentum. On the contrary, during the next three years the party deliberately intensified the class hatreds which had helped to bring them to power. They intended to rule without allies, domestic or foreign. Those who wanted a moderate democratic revolution and those who were opposed to any revolution at all had to be eliminated. The anarchical tendencies of 1917 had to be intensified and at the same time the foundations of a new discipline had to be created. The Bolsheviks proved at first to be much more successful in their destructive efforts. With the aid of their enemies they destroyed the entire organisation of civilised life in Russia. By 1921 the wave of destruction had gone too far for even the Bolsheviks. For a time Lenin had to allow society to recover slowly through the primitive incentive of peasant greed. The most pressing need at the end of 1917 was for a peace with Germany. Lenin had promised it. He realised that the Provisional Government had been fatally weakened by its refusal to adopt a clear peace policy. At first all the Bolshevik leaders were certain that such a peace need not cost defeated Russia too much. They considered that the Russian peace effort would spark off revolutions in all the belligerent nations. They did not believe that the common soldiers would endure another winter in the trenches, another summer offensive, when they got to know that the Bolsheviks were offering a universal and immediate peace. The mutinies in the French army and the German fleet were understood in Petrograd to be the prelude to a general breakdown of military discipline. Time was needed for these manifestations to take effect, and it was time that the Russian peace delegation at Brest-Litovsk sought to gain. For three months Trotsky (the Commissar for Foreign Affairs) and his colleagues held off the German army with words alone. The tactics of Brest-Litovsk were brilliantly executed but the strategy was faulty. The expected European revolution did not occur. Although Germany's military position appeared to be impregnable at Brest-Litovsk – her army could advance at any moment upon both Petrograd and Moscow through the empty Russian lines – her negotiating position was less strong. The German troops on the eastern front were needed in the west at once for the *Kaiserschlacht* or knock-out blow which, in Ludendorff's view, was to defeat France and Britain before the arrival of the American army in Europe. The German High Command therefore did not want to drive the Bolsheviks into a desperate war which would certainly tie down large numbers of German troops. Secondly, Ludendorff considered that it was absolutely essential to get the whole of the Ukraine under German control so that its economic resources could be used to counterbalance the effects of the British blockade. He was after a frankly annexationist peace which would enable the Reich to tap the riches of central and eastern Europe. But his plans – strikingly similar to those of Hitler in 1941 – were opposed by Kuhlmann, the representative of the German civilian government. Kuhlmann realized that the signing of such a peace as Ludendorff envisaged would put Germany into a very weak position if by any chance the *Kaiserschlacht* failed; a contingency which Ludendorff refused to consider. In that case, Kuhlmann argued, the Allies would be entitled to impose upon Germany just such a peace as Ludendorff intended to impose upon Russia. He consequently wanted to restrict the German annexations to those parts of the Russian Empire already occupied by the German army, and to clothe these annexations in a decent garb of democratic choice. For much of January and February 1918 Trotsky exploited the rift in the German ranks. He proved to be the equal of the German career diplomats in every twist of the game, although he was embarrassed by the presence in the Russian delegation of a peasant (included for propaganda reasons) whose primitive table manners and frequent intoxication delighted the German staff officers. Trotsky challenged Kuhlmann to show that the 'plebiscites' held in the German-occupied territories were genuine expressions of the popular will (they were not); and Kuhlmann demanded to know why the German government should not negotiate directly with the independent government of the Ukraine seeing that the Bolsheviks had constantly demanded the right of national self-determination. Trotsky was able to counter this move by producing another Ukrainian delegation which

claimed to represent a Bolshevik government. The inspired quarrels of the two Ukrainian delegations held up the negotiations for several days. Meanwhile in Petrograd the western horizon was anxiously scanned for the coming of the revolution. The Central Committee of the party divided into three groups about the correct policy to follow. Lenin argued that it was pointless and dangerous to prolong the negotiations, for the revolution was not imminent. 'Germany is only pregnant with revolution', he said, 'the second month must not be mistaken for the ninth. But here in Russia we have a healthy, lusty child. We may kill it if we start a war.' Bukharin was for starting the war again; and Trotsky advocated an altogether novel approach summarized in the slogan, 'Neither Peace nor War'. The party at length committed itself to Trotsky's policy; on 10 February he astonished the German delegation by declaring that although Russia refused to accept the peace terms she nevertheless pronounced that she was at peace with Germany. But the gamble failed. After initial confusion and fury, Ludendorff ordered the German army to advance. There was nothing to stop its march through Estonia towards Petrograd. Lenin had been proved right. He brushed aside the renewed demands for a patriotic war and signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on 3 March. It was a heavy price. Russia lost 34 per cent of her population, 54 per cent of her industrial plant and 89 per cent of her mines. The surrender of Germany to the Western Allies a few months later enabled Russia to repossess the Ukraine; but not until the end of the Second World War did she regain control of Poland, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Finland. It is likely that the loss of these non-Russian borderlands simplified the task of the Bolsheviks. But it was difficult to explain this in 1918. Lenin had to marshal all his resources to get the treaty ratified by the Soviet. It provided another reason for hating a regime which had already given many causes for hatred." – *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 313-316

"THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT: The Bolshevik control of the new regime was masked by the retention of the Soviet structure. The Congress of Soviets elected an executive committee which in turn chose the Council of People's Commissars. Both the elected bodies were dominated by the Bolsheviks whose Central Committee was the real source of power. But the pretence of democracy was elaborately preserved and all the party's decisions were presented to the world as those of the democratic Soviet. There the other left-wing parties continued to find representation until the middle of 1918; in the Council of Commissars only a few left-wing S.R.s were given minor offices and even these withdrew in protest against the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Any other possible centre of authority was deliberately destroyed by the party. The most dangerous was the Constituent Assembly which was already being elected when the revolution occurred. The Bolsheviks held only 25 per cent of the seats in this, the only fully democratic assembly in the history of Russia. Lenin allowed it to meet (January 1918) but argued that since it was hostile to the Soviet regime it could not really represent the wishes of the masses. He contemptuously condemned it to the limbo of 'bourgeois democracy' – that is, a democracy which was manipulated by the middle classes. Its lack of popular support can be estimated from the ease with which the Bolsheviks got rid of it. There was only one session, during which the delegates (mostly S.R.s) could scarcely make themselves heard above the uproar of the armed Lettish guards. At 5 a.m. a sailor named Zheleznyakov asked the delegates to disperse 'since the guard is tired'. The lights were then extinguished and the delegates expelled in spite of the fact that they had armed themselves with candles and sandwiches. The elimination of the Constituent Assembly cleared the ground for a constitution more to the taste of the Bolshevik party. Protracted and bitter debates on constitutional forms took place in a drafting commission which sat during the first seven months of 1918. Its proposals were ratified by the Congress of Soviets in July. While the drafting commission deliberated, the revolution intensified. The Allies landed troops all round the periphery of the former Russian Empire. The S.R.s virtually declared war on the Bolsheviks. In spite of these distractions, Stalin and his colleagues did their work well. Subsequent constitutional changes have not greatly altered the work done at the crisis of the revolution. The 1918 constitution created the R.S.F.S.R. (Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic). Supreme power was vested in the All-Russia Congress of Soviets. Its executive committee (VTsiK), composed of about 200 persons, could exercise all the legislative powers of the Congress when the latter was not in session. The VTsiK in turn appointed the Council of People's Commissars (Sovnarkom). This last body, which approximated roughly to a Western cabinet, was also empowered to issue decrees, orders and laws. No attempt was made to secure the separation of powers, which was in fact specifically rejected as a bourgeois theory. The members of the Congress were elected by the city and rural Soviets. In the cities, there was one deputy to 25,000 voters: in rural areas, one deputy to 125,000 inhabitants. This gave the cities an unfair weighting in the Congress, a fact which was freely admitted by the authors of the constitution. Although the word 'federal' appears in its name, the R.S.F.S.R. was not federal in the Western sense of the word. The Bolsheviks were embarrassed by their 1917 slogan: 'All power to the Soviets'. Many of their supporters believed that they meant what they said and that they were going to create a semianarchist constitution in which sovereign powers were going to be exercised by the local Soviets. The party could not afford to refuse outright the demands which it had encouraged; hence the great ingenuity lavished upon the 1918 constitution. Local Soviets were given both electoral and executive functions. They were the primary democratic cell; they were also the instruments through which the central government ruled the provinces. Lenin hoped that they would take the place of the Tsarist bureaucracy, that their revolutionary ardour would compensate for their lack of administrative experience. In this, he was sadly disappointed. The local Soviets were trusted little more than the Tsars had trusted the *zemstvos*. Their power to tax was limited to local needs, and even this limited right was subject to central supervision. The slogan 'All power to the Soviets' was interpreted as: 'Some local power to the Soviets'. There was no provision for national autonomy on a federal basis; it was assumed that when the non-Russian periphery of the Tsarist empire was recovered from those powers which had occupied it in 1918, it would be united with the R.S.F.S.R. on the footing of equal national republics. Perhaps other such republics might be formed in Western Europe after the revolution. The R.S.F.S.R. was

seen by its Bolshevik creators as a merely temporary house for the revolution to inhabit. Some Bolsheviks and most S.R.s had supposed that the revolution would be immediately followed by the disappearance of the State. Lenin had given this point careful consideration in his *State and Revolution*. His view was that the State must survive the revolution for long enough to eliminate the inevitable counter revolution. Of that there were many signs in 1918. Lenin admitted that while the State continued to exist it would have a class form; this was the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', a temporary condition which would last only long enough to destroy the remaining bastions of feudal and bourgeois class society. According to Lenin the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' would occupy a unique position in the unfolding historical dialectic. Since the proletariat was the majority, little force would be needed for the assertion of its will. Its enemies would rapidly crumble and its task would soon be done. In the view of the party theorists the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' was based upon the Soviet structure. The facts, of course, were quite different. Such 'dictatorship' as existed in Russia was based upon the party, and the party in turn relied upon its inner cadre. Lenin recognised no contradiction between the fiction of Soviet power and the reality of inner-party direction. Like all Marxists he was firmly committed to Rousseau's concept of the General Will: that is, the belief that a single individual may know better than the masses what is best for them and what is most closely attuned to the movement of the historical dialectic. In the Marxist mind the word 'proletariat' came to have abstruse metaphysical overtones. To the eye of commonsense a proletarian is a person exploited in the capitalist economic process. We see him brandishing a spanner and cursing the capitalist. But to Lenin and the Marxist 'theologians' the proletariat was an idea to be put into practice even against the expressed wish of persons who might reasonably be named proletarians. A dictatorship did emerge in Russia in 1918 but it was not the 'dictatorship of the proletariat'. It was, on the contrary, the dictatorship of a tiny group of idealists whose nerve was stiffened by their conviction that they knew the rules of the game and that these rules justified the use of force and fraud. During the first few weeks of power the Bolsheviks continued to catch the wind of popular approval. A stream of decrees realised the wishes of the majority. A decree on land (which told the peasants to help themselves), on peace, on workers' control of industry, on the nationalisation of banking, on the repudiation of all state debts both internal and external, on the abolition of private ownership of large houses, on the standardisation of all salaries and living conditions, on the reform of the calendar, on the modernisation of the alphabet, on the separation of Church from State and of schools from the Church, on the abolition of the old legal system and its replacement by popularly elected revolutionary tribunals - these all seemed to promise a new heaven on earth, a heaven which could be gained by the destruction of the hated 'bourgeois'. Even the creation of a secret police (December 1918), known first as the Cheka, was invested with popular appeal. Its boss, Dzerzhinsky, announced: 'The Commission appeals to all workers, soldiers and peasants to come to its aid in the struggle with enemies of the Revolution. Send all news and facts ... to the Commission.' Here was an open invitation to take revenge for all the insults, real and supposed, suffered at the hands of the 'bourgeois'. But the delights of licensed class warfare could not conceal the fact that the November revolution had not enabled anyone to eat any better or to keep warmer. The increasingly severe food shortages of 1918 could be met only by extending the range of class warfare. The town worker had to be turned against the peasant as well as the bourgeois. There was some grain in the countryside but there was no means of making the peasant part with it. The currency was hopelessly inflated and besides, there was nothing to buy with it. The peasant ate more and turned his surplus into vodka. The only solution was to force the peasant to give up his grain at the point of the rifle; to turn the poorer peasant against the richer, to terrorise the countryside through the Cheka. During the summer months the campaign against the peasants reached the proportion of a civil war, a war provoked by the new regime, a war which to the peasants seemed very similar to the punitive raids carried out by Tsarist troops. The discontent of the peasants was communicated to some sections of the industrial workers. In June 1918 there was the threat of a general strike on the railways, and in several industrial towns there were pitched battles between the Cheka and the workers. These difficulties naturally encouraged the other left-wing parties which by the middle of 1918 were not only excluded from the government but were also being hounded by the Cheka. The crisis came in July. The left S.R.s assassinated the German ambassador, Mirbach, whom they regarded as a symbol of the hated Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. They intended his murder to be the signal for a resumption of the war against Germany. But the Cheka was too much for the rather amateurish terrorism of the S.R.s, and most of the leaders were rounded up. One woman terrorist, however, Fanya Kaplan, survived until the end of August when she fired three shots at Lenin, two of which struck him. This was the signal for an outbreak of mass terrorism by the Cheka. All the non-Bolshevik groups and parties could now be accused of hostility to the revolution. All could be accused of being the instruments of the foreign powers which by now were beginning to intervene in Russia. The Bolsheviks had concluded a war against Germany in order to fight one against the rest of the world. It is difficult to estimate the number of victims claimed by the Cheka during the terror of 1918. The former Tsar and his family were among those first eliminated. More than 500 'counterrevolutionaries' were shot in Petrograd alone. In some provincial towns pitched battles went on for several days between the Cheka and the local inhabitants. The terror was specifically directed against the 'bourgeoisie' - a useful word which could be used to include anyone who was not a supporter of the party. The Kadets had already been outlawed. The Mensheviks and the S.R.s were not yet treated in the same way. As the terror slackened off towards the end of 1918, these left-wing groups were once again allowed representation in the Soviets. They were allowed to publish newspapers and they enjoyed considerable influence among the peasants and the trade unions. The Cheka bullied but it did not shoot the Menshevik and S.R. leaders, who while the civil war continued were just as eager as the Bolsheviks to prevent the revolution from being crushed. But in spite of this uneasy toleration, they were not allowed a share in political power. In effect, the R.S.F.S.R. was a single-party state from 1918 onwards. To this achievement Dzerzhinsky and the Cheka had contributed largely. The number of people who entered the Cheka prison in Lubyanka Square, Moscow, may not have been very large. But the Cheka was ruthless, thorough and determined. 'It is time, before it is too late, to

carry out the most pitiless strictly organised mass terror, not in words but in deeds. Bringing death to thousands of idle white hands ... we save millions of workers, we save the socialist revolution'."

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 316-321

"THE CIVIL WAR, 1918-21: The attitude of Russia's former allies towards the Bolshevik regime was a mixture of fear, indignation and hopeful self-interest. In the months immediately after the end of the war, it was widely believed in the West that there was a chance that the Bolshevik slogans would inflame the masses of battle-weary soldiers and impoverished workers. Intervention in Russia consequently offered a minimum prospect of keeping the Bolsheviks so busy that they would be unable to help the disaffected Western masses. The Western statesmen assembled at Versailles did not intend to permit the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to be reversed – even though it had been imposed upon a former ally by the power which had just been defeated. They were alarmed by the fact that the Soviet government had denounced the peace as soon as the Germans were defeated in November 1918; with considerable ease (at first) the Red Army then reconquered the Baltic States, Poland and the Ukraine. This annoyed some of the Versailles statesmen (like President Wilson) whose main object was to redraw the map of Europe on the basis of national self-determination, and frightened others (like Clemenceau) whose plans for the future of Europe were based upon the idea of a powerful Poland and a weak Russia. The French, anxious for a Poland which would be strong enough to be a real threat to Germany, envisaged a return to the eighteenth-century frontiers, a Poland which included the Ukraine.

Intervention in Russia would force the Bolsheviks to accept the Brest-Litovsk terms, would exclude Russia from Europe, would enable France to dominate it once more. The British were more interested in the future of Asiatic Russia. Intervention might hasten the break-up of Russia; out of this Britain might gain security for India by setting up a puppet regime in Central Asia; she might even gain control of the Caucasian oil. Japan wanted eastern Siberia up to Lake Baikal. The Romanians wanted to keep Bessarabia. The Russian corpse seemed large enough to provide all the vultures with a meal. Behind the noises of ideological outrage made by all the Great Powers lurked their expectation of national gain. But the amount of effort, military and economic, which the Great Powers were willing to put into intervention was limited. The soldiers had no wish to go on fighting. Even worse, there was the danger that Allied troops in Russia would fall victim to communist propaganda. The French army sent to Odessa in 1919 had to be hastily withdrawn because it showed a disturbing tendency to shoot its officers. Even the British troops at Archangel showed something less than enthusiasm for their task. Britain had no wish to help the French to create a great Poland; France was not at all interested in helping Britain to create a buffer state in Central Asia; and America was very hostile to the Japanese ambitions in Siberia. The robbers could not agree to help each other. No doubt some of these difficulties could have been sorted out if any of the anti-Bolshevik White groups had inflicted a complete defeat upon the Reds. Both the principal White leaders, Kolchak and Denikin, were strongly nationalist. If either had entered Moscow (which became the capital of the R.S.F.S.R. in 1918) he would have demanded a restoration of Russia's pre-war frontiers, perhaps even that the Allies should honour the wartime treaties. **The allied leaders gradually realised that a White victory might create even more problems than it solved. They were willing to send enough help to enable the Whites to carry on a civil war which reduced Russia to anarchy and impotence. They were not willing to send enough to ensure that the Whites won.** The main objects of intervention were, however, gained. Bolshevism did not permanently infect either Europe or Asia, and Russia was so much weakened that she was unable to effect a major revision of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The allied policy (of which Churchill was a principal advocate) achieved a cynicism worthy of Lenin himself. The first hope of the Whites was Admiral Kolchak. He had been an Arctic explorer, a quite distinguished naval commander, and he was known to be a courageous and honest man. These qualities gained him the whole-hearted support of the British who encouraged him to seize power by force at Omsk (November 1918). His first enemies on this occasion were not the Bolsheviks but a local Siberian government dominated by the S.R.s. Their policy was for the reconstitution of the Constituent Assembly. This *coup d'etat* by Kolchak illustrates an important theme of the civil war: the fact that the moderate Socialist parties were everywhere squeezed out by the extremists. Nowhere could the adherents of liberal democracy collect a fighting force. **The civil war would end with a dictator from either the left or the right. Kolchak's government was not based upon the consent of the strongest fighting force in Siberia – the Czech army. These fine troops had been on their way to the Pacific when the revolution had broken out. During the summer of 1918 they had turned back and had nearly captured Moscow.** But now that the war against Germany was over they only wanted to return to their new nation. They disapproved of Kolchak's dictatorship but took no action against him. They merely waited along the Siberian railway until it was possible to continue their eastward journey. Meanwhile Kolchak pushed westward with his army of Cossacks and Tsarist officers. He advanced rapidly over the Urals and early in 1919 he threatened the middle Volga. He proposed to unite his army with the British force in Archangel. The northward thrust offered him the hope of supply; but he would probably have done better to concentrate upon joining Denikin's southern army. His advance was checked partly by the stiffening resistance of the Red Army but chiefly by a peasant revolt along his lines of communication. Kolchak's land policy was disliked by the poorer peasants, especially the recent immigrants into Siberia. Behind him was the shadow of the landlord and the factory owner. The mass revolt against him was spontaneous only a few of the peasant bands were under Bolshevik leadership. Kolchak's retreat turned into a rout. The Siberian towns turned against him, revolted by the barbaric behaviour of the White troops and by the ruthless White terror. Kolchak was eventually caught and shot by the Reds at Irkutsk in February 1920. Siberia remained very disturbed. The peasant bands continued to roam the taiga, little more contented with their new masters than they had been with their old. The Siberian railway was choked with abandoned trains filled with the corpses of those who had died of cold' or typhus. But the Bolsheviks held the towns; and the universal anarchy ensured that it would be impossible for the Japanese – who still remained in control to the east of Lake Baikal – to use

Siberia as a base against European Russia. The only organisation which could survive in Siberia was that of the Bolshevik party. It was unlucky for the Whites that their southern front, under Denikin, made no decisive move against the Reds until Kolchak had been defeated. Denikin was a general of peasant origins, a rare product of Tsarist Russia. He had, however, no intention of restoring the Romanovs, unlike many of his officers. Politically he took no clear stand. It was not even certain whether he would, in the case of victory, summon a constituent assembly. Even had he wanted to, it is doubtful whether his officers would have permitted it. His only slogan was: 'Russia shall be great, united, undivided'. This nationalist programme was unlikely to be popular with the Caucasian peoples, the Ukrainians, even with the Cossacks. It could certainly not command the assent of the liberal and educated classes. But although Denikin was not politically resourceful, his strategic position was much stronger than that of Kolchak. In 1918 he had gained control of much of the Caucasus. With his back to the Black Sea he could be easily supplied by the Allies. His Cossack troops, from the Don and the Kuban, were near at hand and were for the most part fanatically opposed to the Bolshevik regime. They were small farmers with horses and cattle, who had much more to lose than their chains by the abolition of private property in land. Just to the north lay the industrial region of the eastern Ukraine. Its capture and retention might persuade a weary Bolshevik government to make peace, perhaps on the basis of the independence of south Russia. Denikin's early victories confirmed the optimism of his followers. In June 1919 he captured Kharkov and Tsaritsyn; in July he advanced on Moscow; in August he captured Kiev and in October reached Orel. Only Tula stood between him and the Bolshevik capital. In the same month the White General Yudenich, operating with British support from Estonia, reached the suburbs of Petrograd. But Denikin's offensive collapsed as rapidly as that of Kolchak and for the same reasons. There was complete confusion in the rear, encouraged by the Reds but chiefly the result of peasant anarchy. The Ukraine was even more turbulent than Siberia. With bewildering rapidity it had been occupied by Germans, a national government, the Reds, and the Whites. The peasant bands turned against the towns and against everything which suggested town influence. The Jews were a favourite target because they were conspicuous and because they were urban. Pogroms occurred on a large scale. Some of the peasant leaders, like the anarchist Makhno, were really skillful. During the autumn of 1919 Makhno's band of about 40,000 men devastated Denikin's communications and threatened to capture his headquarters at Taganrog. Makhno eventually escaped from both the Whites and the Reds and took refuge in Romania. He had permitted no pogroms and imposed a truly anarchist non-government upon the areas under his control. Denikin had nothing to oppose to the spirit of anarchy which convulsed his rear. British supplies remained unused at the Black Sea ports. The White administration was very corrupt, just as the White officers were notorious – even in this age of violence – for their drunken brutality. A British journalist indignantly observed what was happening to his government's money: 'In 1919 we went Denikin 1500 complete nurses' costume outfits. I did not ... ever see a nurse in a British uniform; but I have seen girls, who were emphatically not nurses, walking the streets of Novorossiysk wearing British hospital skirts and stockings.' Harried by the Red Army, weakened by corruption, paralysed by guerrilla ravages along the lines of communication, abandoned by the allied governments, Denikin fell back on the Black Sea ports. With the remnants of his force, he was evacuated by the Royal Navy. For a few months in 1920 Wrangel (with French aid) enjoyed some success in the Crimea and the southern Ukraine. But at length he too had to be rescued from Sevastopol. British troops were evacuated from Murmansk and Archangel in 1919. But the end of the civil war did not bring immediate peace. **In 1919, the victorious Allies had created a new Poland. Russia had not been represented at the peace conference; indeed, during its sessions the Western Allies had been actively fighting against the Bolshevik government. A happy result of the absence of Russia was that the Western statesmen at the Versailles peace conference were able to give the new Poland very generous eastern frontiers. France, in particular, was anxious that the new Poland should be as powerful as possible.** The revolution and the civil war had deprived the French of their eastern ally. Who would save Paris the next time the Germans invaded France? **The Russian government naturally disliked a peace treaty which gave away Tsarist territory and at which they had not been represented.** But Pilsudski (dictator of the new Polish State) was not satisfied even with the generous terms given him. He determined to take advantage of Russia's weakness. He waited until the Reds and the Whites had exhausted one another: although socially conservative (even reactionary) himself, he had no desire to see a nationalist White general like Denikin in power in Moscow. Pilsudski had the most grandiose plans. He was not content with merely restoring his unfortunate nation to the 1772 frontiers – a plan which would have been acceptable to most of his country men. He wanted a restoration of the Polish medieval kingdom which stretched from the Baltic to the Black Sea. With this objective, he attacked the R.S.F.S.R. in 1920. At first his Polish colonels carried all before them. But the exhausted heroes of the Red Army rapidly recovered, and by July 1920 the astonished colonels had been chased back to Warsaw by the ragged veterans of Tukhachevsky and Budenny. Now it was the turn of the Bolsheviks to rejoice. They foresaw a Polish revolution; they expected Poland to set Germany alight. But if the Red Army could defeat the Polish colonels, it could not get past the working men of Warsaw who had no intention of being liberated by the Russian proletariat. They threw back the Red Army (August 1920) and once again the Poles advanced into the R.S.F.S.R. By this time both sides had had enough of these bewildering reverses of fortune. By the Treaty of Riga (1921) they came to an agreement which lasted until 1939. Poland got considerably less than the Allies had given her in 1919. Russia had to accept the independence of Finland and the Baltic States, which practically excluded her from the Baltic. In this area she lost nearly all the territory which had enabled her to dominate central Europe during the nineteenth century. But she had regained the Ukraine which the Germans had taken at Brest-Litovsk. For the time being she had ceased to be a European Great Power, but she retained enough territory to enable her to become a world power."

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 321-327

“THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT DURING THE CIVIL WAR: In spite of the weaknesses and divisions among the Whites and their allies, the survival of the Soviet regime during the civil war was little short of miraculous. At times, Moscow controlled less territory than had constituted medieval Muscovy. Within this area the harvest of 1920 was only about three-fifths of that of 1916. Industrial production fell still more rapidly. By 1920 it was 13 per cent of the 1913 figure. In mining and in heavy industry the picture was still bleaker. Pig-iron production was 3 per cent of 1913; railway locomotives were not being made at all and it was impossible even to repair the existing ones. The cities were being depopulated. The rich fled abroad (about two million emigrated during these years); millions more went into the country in order to find minimum quantities of food and fuel. The population of Moscow and Petrograd was halved. **The regime had certain advantages. It controlled the interior lines of communication; troops could be rushed from one threatened point to another with a minimum of delay. It controlled just enough industrial capacity to provide the Red Army with the primitive weapons required in the civil war; its hold upon the industrial regions of central and northern Russia assured a supply of rifles and machine guns. The Petrograd engineering works even supplied a few tanks when British machines employed by the Whites caused a panic in the front line. This was a war of rapid movement over long distances. The horse came into its own again after its temporary eclipse during the First World War. The Reds employed many former Tsarist officers whose loyalty was uncertain. Such as it was, it was secured either by holding their families as hostages or by placing a politically reliable commissar at their elbows. But at critical times the big decisions were taken by the party. Trotsky was always the man on the spot. His armoured train moved from crisis to crisis. In addition to the ruthless, voluble, imaginative, tireless and invincible Commissar, the famous train also carried printing presses (so that the Commissar's winged words could inspire the weary heroes of the Red Army); machine guns to protect him from the ubiquitous White cavalry; and a motor car so that he could visit and revive distant units.** When Petrograd was about to fall to Yudenich, and even the city boss Zinoviev despaired of holding the cradle of the revolution, Trotsky restored morale by summary execution of the local defence committee. **But few party members had to be shot.** Each one knew that instant death awaited him if he fell into the hands of the Whites; each one knew that he would enjoy considerable power in the event of a Bolshevik victory. Bolshevik control over the rear areas was imperfect but more efficient than that of their opponents. Lack of such control was fatal to the Whites. **The Bolshevik system of ‘War Communism’ (1918-21) was based upon nationalisation and strict labour control. The system was the product in part of ideology, in part of the desperate war situation. It was tempting to call ‘communist’ a society in which all were equal because all had nothing. It was tempting to speak of communism when in fact the main development was the growth of state power. This was the main feature of War Communism.** As society crumbled away, the power of the Soviet State increased over what little remained. The syndicalist or anarchical tendencies of 1917 were tamed although not finally eliminated. All industries – even the numerous tiny peasant crafts – were nationalised. Factory management was achieved at first by the direct participation of the workers. When this proved inefficient, single-manager operation was restored. Often the manager was a ‘bourgeois’. His powers were resented by the workers but they were as necessary to industry as were those of the Tsarist officers to the Red Army. Industry was controlled from the centre by Vesenkha (Supreme Council of National Economy). Vesenkha had been at first intended to direct the national economy according to a plan. But it never got control either of finance or labour and confined itself to ensuring that such production as there was aided the Red Army. Very rapid inflation made the currency valueless. By 1920 13,000 Soviet roubles represented the value of one rouble in 1913. Workers were paid in food and fuel; sometimes they received a part of the product of their factory which they could then barter for the necessities of life. ‘Communist’ instincts were satisfied by a government decision to save itself the trouble of collecting worthless roubles by charging nothing for the use of public utilities. Transport, housing, food, fuel, were given without payment to those who held labour cards. The whole distributive process fell under the control of Narkomprod (People's Commissariat of Supply). Producers and consumers were organised into co-operatives. This at least helped to ensure that everybody was equally badly off; the sense of social justice was some consolation for hunger and cold. **Food was strictly rationed according to four grades. Possession of a labour card entitled its owner to a food ration. It was difficult for a ‘bourgeois’ to get a card at all, and starvation was the fate of those who held the card of the lowest grade or who were not given any card. Unemployed workers were sent out in grain-requisitioning parties which scoured the countryside, terrorised the peasants and generally managed to bring back enough food to maintain the ration.** There was a large and flourishing black market in the cities. The party reluctantly permitted it to exist as a safety valve. There the middle classes exchanged their domestic treasures for some grain or a load of wood. **The visible poverty and misery of the former ruling class stimulated hatred and contempt. To prevent the formation of any centres of discontent, large numbers of people were arbitrarily moved from place to place. At least five million were conscripted into the Red Army although it was uncommon for more than 100,000 men to be engaged even at the most critical fronts. Unemployed workers and members of the middle class were called up for forced labour. Even when the fighting stopped in 1920 the armies and the labour gangs were kept at work - on the railways, cutting wood in the forests, putting the mines into production. In economic terms War Communism was very inefficient: production and productivity fell catastrophically. But it achieved its main object. It kept people on the move, it produced just enough food to maintain those groups who were most hostile to the Whites, and it enabled the State to expand into every corner of Russian life. It was not unlike the system which had enabled Britain and Germany to sustain a long war. War Communism required the support of an enormous bureaucracy.** Many of the Tsarist bureaucrats had fled or had been killed. Their places were filled by a recruitment from the ranks of the semi-literate with little experience of administration. Typists who could not type, secretaries unable to read,

executives with no education, huddled into freezing offices to provide each other with pieces of paper. Even paper was in short supply. Lenin was sometimes unable to get any ink for his restless and commanding fountain-pen. The new bureaucracy was as inefficient as the nationalised economic structure which it allegedly controlled. But the numerous posts provided a taste of power for those who had never had it: they were given a ration card and they felt that the revolution had really done something for them. The porter who became a house manager, the shopkeeper who controlled ration cards, became unconscious allies of the regime. Their administrative inefficiency was of little importance since there was hardly anything to administer. Public order was comparatively well maintained behind the Bolshevik lines. **The city streets were sometimes rendered unsafe by criminals in search of food or ration cards. Lenin himself was once captured by such a band in the suburbs of Moscow. He was forced at pistol point to hand over his overcoat; he had no money in his pocket.** But the low rations, the fear that any further dislocation might lead to complete starvation, the vigilance of the Cheka, and the knowledge that things were even worse behind the White lines, rendered the masses docile. In the country the peasants bitterly resented the grain requisitions. Large mutinous bands roamed the forests but they were never so formidable in Red territory as they were to the Whites. This was in part the result of the policy of general mobilisation which removed the peasant from his home village; in part the fact that the agricultural areas of central Russia were those in which there was the greatest overcrowding and consequently the bitterest hatred by the poor of the rich peasant. The Bolshevik requisitioning of grain was a little less hateful than the White threat to restore the landlord.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 327-331

“The most significant development of the civil war years was that of the Bolshevik party itself. Lenin had organised the party to seize power by revolutionary means; now it was called upon to govern a disintegrating society during a period of intense crisis. In some ways this long crisis suited the Bolsheviks. It dissolved all the other groups and institutions and left the party without a rival. Even though the party was weak during these years it was always a little stronger than anything else. It had a virtual monopoly of political power. Behind the elaborate facade of the Soviet system, the R.S.F.S.R. had become a single-party state, the first of the twentieth century. This fact was the most important result of the revolution, the deepest breach with the Tsarist past. It was a political innovation which was to be imitated by many other nations, but none carried it through so consistently as Russia. It is doubtful whether Lenin and his companions realised the significance of what they were doing. They had carried through a revolution in the name of the proletariat, inspired by a faith in the Marxist interpretation of how History works. In several ways they had strained the Marxist ideology to fit their own wishes and impulses. **The result of all this was not at all as Marx had predicted. The State did not wither away; it became far stronger in its new, single-party form. The revolution created a new Leviathan, a new type of political structure. By a strange twist of fate, the revolution revealed the answer to Russian backwardness, that problem which had occupied the Tsars since the Crimean War. The single-party State proved in the end to be capable of forcing Russia through the hoop of industrialization and of making her the equal of the strongest nations of the West. The Russian revolution was supposed by its authors to end the reign of nationalism as a dominant ideal. Class conflicts were held to be more important than national differences. But the main result of the revolution was to enable Russia to become one of the most powerful nations in the world. From the revolution, backward Russia got a modern political system. The civil war hastened developments which would probably have occurred anyway. The party of revolutionaries became a mass governing party.** It had to adopt institutional forms to enable it to carry out its new functions. Party numbers grew rapidly. In January 1918, it had 115,000 members; in January 1919, 251,000; in January 1920, 431,000; in January 1921, 576,000. Numbers multiplied five times in three years in spite of some fairly severe purges. The moral quality of the new recruits was no doubt quite high; it needed courage to join the party during these years. But the level of intelligence and competence sank dramatically. Most of the new recruits were peasants and workers with a very low educational standard. Their enthusiasm and self-sacrifice made them excellent instruments but they lacked the capacity for leadership. The result was inevitable; it has been a general feature of all mass parties in the twentieth century. A division emerged inside the party between the inner-party elite and the rank and file. The forms of democracy were maintained. In theory, the leadership was still elected by the Central Committee, which in turn was elected by the party congress. But in fact power flowed down from the top; the party became the instrument of its leaders. Just as the Soviet system was a mask for the power of the party, so the party itself masked the real power of the inner-party elite. Significant steps towards an inner-party elite were taken at the party congress of 1919, held during the crisis of the civil war. Such party organisation as there had been was broken by the sudden death of Sverdlov. This old member of the underground had carried the details in his head. He knew all the local secretaries personally and arranged the details by word of mouth. To provide a more permanent structure, the Central Committee of 1919 created three new party organs. A Politburo of five members was to decide on urgent matters which the full Central Committee was too unwieldy to cope with. By creating the Politburo, the Central Committee ensured executive efficiency but it relegated itself to a secondary place in the political structure. An organisational bureau (Orgburo) and a Secretariat were to work in harness to provide what had been previously supplied by Sverdlov’s memory. They reviewed party membership, organised purges, kept in touch with the local secretaries, moved key men to important posts. None of the important leaders took much interest in these organisational details. Lenin, Trotsky, Kamenev, Zinoviev, were too busy fighting wars, building a new State and negotiating with foreign powers to bother about party organisation. The job needed an old Bolshevik, an underground man like Sverdlov. Stalin fitted this description. He had no experience of the world outside Russia but he did know the party intimately. In 1919 he was appointed to the Orgburo and from this obscure corner of the party bureaucracy he built up a monopoly of power. The party drove the nation and the elite drove the party. This inner segment, perhaps 50,000 strong, consisted chiefly of organisation men, administrators, *apparatchiks*. The process of centralisation was by no means complete by the end of the civil war. The need for it was bitterly resented by a large section of the party. But the path towards the domination of the party by the organisational apparatus had been shown. Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev rapidly acclimatised themselves to the profound changes introduced by the 1919 Congress, but Trotsky, busy winning the civil war, had little use for organisation. He preferred discipline and industrial planning, fiery words and striking deeds, to the patient collection of dossiers, the careful compilation of a card index, the quiet manipulation and counting of heads. From his armoured train it seemed impossible that Russia should be ruled from behind a desk. Yet this was just how Lenin did it during the civil war. He never visited a front; he rarely addressed large public gatherings during the crisis of the war. Instead (like Stalin in the Second World War) he remained in his simply furnished Kremlin study reading, annotating and telephoning. He was a splendid committee chairman. He reduced the time available for each speaker to two or three minutes, he was humorous, shrewd, firm, usually right, and nearly always got his way without causing rancour. He never allowed any cult of personality to grow up; the only picture which he allowed was that of Marx. He read everything, remembered everything and even found time to write several long pamphlets on matters of theory. His principal colleagues in the Politburo were Trotsky, Stalin, Zinoviev and Kamenev. He allowed none of them to quarrel deeply with him or with each other. Power seemed to have made him less inclined to seek schism; it seemed to have released in him a geniality which was notably absent in the pre-war years. He talked at length with visitors. They ranged from distinguished foreign intellectuals like Bertrand Russell to the *hodoks* or peasants who continued the tradition of Tsarist times and wandered through Russia to lay their grievances at the feet of the

supreme ruler. The flowering of Lenin's personality, the fact that he was an administrator of genius, was an important factor in the victory of the Reds. While the civil war lasted it was comparatively easy to maintain party discipline but the release from immediate danger brought formidable problems. The party rank and file was bitterly opposed to its exclusion from political power. Since the dissidents could not make their will effective through any other political party, they had to canvass their opinions through the mechanism of the party in power. This raised an acute difficulty. In a democratic society, a political party is a pressure group whose function is to capture public opinion and by this means to get into power, but in Russia the party was much more than a pressure group: it was the nucleus of the state apparatus. Consequently, public disagreements within the party shook the authority of the government to its foundations. Such public disagreements occurred in 1920-1, the most dangerous of them backed by the one organisation which the party had not yet managed to bring to heel- the trade unions. The union movement had trebled in membership since 1917; by 1920 there were nearly nine million members. The cooperation of the unions was essential for the maintenance of War Communism. The unions were close to the working men and the Mensheviks were still powerful in them. It was consequently dangerous for the party leadership when some of the leading party unionists began to represent the interests of the unions to the party rather than imposing the will of the party upon the unions. Such was the case with the 'workers' opposition', the most formidable party fraction since the revolution. It canalised the feelings of the 'outs' against the 'ins'. It demanded trade union control of industry, it protested against the excessive power of intellectuals in the party, it alleged (quite rightly) that party posts were no longer being filled by democratic election. Its angry denunciations filled the press during the winter of 1920-1. Trotsky made matters worse by joining in the public controversy with his usual gusto, expressing views which were not accepted by Lenin and the other members of the Politburo. Trotsky wanted the virtual elimination of the unions. He wanted labour to be under the direct control of the State, organised in military fashion like his own Red Army. In fact his soldiers were already engaged upon labour tasks. Trotsky wanted a total economic plan into which labour would be slotted in the most efficient way. He contemptuously dismissed the vague syndicalism of the 'workers' opposition': single-man management would be essential to efficient production. These public controversies alarmed Lenin and the Politburo. They came at a time of acute economic crisis when it seemed that grain deliveries to the towns might cease altogether. If the peasant went his own way - as he threatened to do – then all inner-party controversy became meaningless. The Bolshevik party was essentially urban: without urban life it could not survive. The peasants must be soothed; the town workers must be allowed to have their unions; party unity must be restored. The time for Trotsky's driving revolutionary ardour was over. Everything (except the party) must be sacrificed to ensure primitive social reconstruction. This could only be achieved by the partial restoration of capitalism. Such was the tactical decision taken by Lenin in 1921. Even he could not escape the fact that Russia was still a peasant nation: even in the single-party State the peasant's desire for a free market in grain was supreme.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 331-335

“The nation which emerged from the civil war was the shadow of a shadow. Great tracts of land and valuable means of production had been lost at the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. What remained was run down beyond hope of rapid recovery. The bare statistics tell part of the truth: by the end of the civil war Russia’s national income was only one-third of what it had been in 1913, industry was producing only one-fifth of what was being produced before the war, the coal mines only one-tenth and the iron foundries one-fortieth. The railways had come to a standstill. The mechanism of exchange between town and country had ceased to function. **The urban populations, never a significant proportion of the whole, had shrunk still further as famished workers fled to the countryside in order to procure the bare necessities of life. The bread ration was nominally two ounces per day but even this was sometimes not available. A frozen potato was a treasured find. Broken furniture was the chief means of warding off the imperious frosts of a Russian winter. Further and perhaps even final economic disasters were threatened. Locusts and sand blizzards in the Volga region threatened to destroy even the tough basic peasant mode of life, shaped over many centuries to endure any number of disasters. By the end of 1921, thirty-six million peasants were starving and the government had to summon the help of foreign relief agencies. During these terrible months, cannibalism was frequently reported.** What remained of Russia was more completely devastated than any other part of Europe in the twentieth century. Even Germany in 1945 rapidly enjoyed the attentions of those whose interest it was speedily to restore to health what they had just destroyed. Russia had no such luck. After the failure of intervention, the Great Powers ignored the plight of a nation which had recently been of their number but was now reduced to chaos. Between 1917 and 1921 the Communist party had directed a revolution in the name of the proletariat. It proclaimed a ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ as an intervening stage between the proletarian revolution and the final withering away of the State. This pause in the march of the dialectic was made necessary by the incomplete nature of the 1917 revolution. External enemies, the powerful capitalist nations, remained to be subdued by the extension of the revolution; and within Russia powerful remnants of the old bourgeois social order still remained unabsorbed in the proletarian state. Consequently, the proletariat must exercise state power until such time as world revolution had removed the external danger, and internal evolution had mitigated the rigours of class conflict. Russia remained in 1921 a class society but a dialectically odd thing had happened. The exploited class – the proletariat – had now become the exploiting class, charged with the task of exploiting the former bourgeois and feudal classes out of existence. The proletariat, of course, was by Leninist interpretation that class of which the Communist party was the mystical representative. There was no need for any vulgar bourgeois voting. The party was placed by history in a representative position. What it did inevitably represented the will of the proletariat, even though a majority of actual flesh-and-blood proletarians showed every sign of wishing not to follow its lead. Lenin and his friends had to justify themselves before the court of the ‘world historical spirit’, an entity which they in fact worshipped. Their minds were trained by two decades of metaphysical speculation. **They had no difficulty in explaining to themselves the theoretical justification for any action that they might have to take. In 1921 they judged that the preservation of the party was the essential objective even if this meant, as in fact it did, abandoning the cause of the proletarians.** In the midst of the surrounding chaos the party alone stood firm. The disintegration of Russian society was not altogether to its disadvantage. The disappearance or demotion of the old governing classes, the reduction of all men to a common level of misery, the destruction of the other possible contenders for supreme power (the other left-wing parties) – all these things helped to emphasise, if only by contrast, the dominating position of the party. Even had Lenin not been prepared by long conviction and struggle for the idea of single-party rule, the circumstances of 1921 would have forced such a choice upon him. The moment was decisive. It was the moment at which the party could have allowed purely national interests to predominate: it could have called a political truce and sought alliance with the other left-wing parties. This would have meant concessions in a democratic direction. The alternative was to retain the political monopoly of the party but to make economic concessions to the strongest class in the Russian State – that is, the peasantry. This was an admission about the events of 1917-21 which no Marxist cared to admit. That is, it had become clear that the essential result of these years had been a successful peasant revolution. The revenge for centuries of serfdom had been taken: a revolution from below had been effected; the peasant mass had become for the first time a force to be reckoned with. This was a strange and contradictory result for a so-called proletarian revolution. It had been in fact a peasant revolution, controlled (inasmuch as anything so elemental could be controlled) by a tiny group of bourgeois intelligentsia. Lenin wisely rejected the role of King Canute: he let the waves of peasant revolution break as they would and then proudly proclaimed that he had always intended that the peasants should do what he had no power to stop them from doing. **In 1921 Lenin, his party and the peasants started to rule the inheritance left them by the Tsar, his bureaucrats and his landowners. The decision to conciliate the peasantry, known as the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.), was made public at the 10th Party Congress (March 1921).** Just before the congress met, events had occurred which, to the non-Marxist observer, might weaken the party’s claim to represent the will of the proletariat. At the military and naval base of Kronstadt the crew of the battleship *Petropavlovsk* touched off a mutiny which was rapidly organized by a naval clerk called Petrichenko. The mutineers were supported by some of the Petrograd workers who were in the midst of a wave of strikes on their own account. The demands of the mutineers were fundamentally anti-Communist. They wanted freedom of speech and of the press for all left-wing parties, the abolition of the specially privileged position of the Communists, full rights for the peasants to do what they liked with land (provided no hired labour was used), and the re-election of the Soviets by free and secret ballot. Lenin, always the realist, commented: ‘They do not want the White Guard and they do not want our power either’. More cunning or perhaps more desperate than the Tsars, he did not content himself with repression alone. True, Trotsky and Tukhachevsky enhanced their reputations for rapid action by brutally massacring the Kronstadt mutineers, but while they were doing so Lenin was making concessions which met at least a part of the Kronstadt demands. He

would concede neither democracy nor political co-operation but he would allow the peasants to do as they liked with the land. The essence of N.E.P. was the abandonment of the system of grain requisitioning widely practised during the civil war. Even in those areas not struck down by blight and famine, this system had had disastrous results. The peasants either hid their grain, or they resorted to force to defend it, or they produced only enough for their own needs. In any event, the towns were not fed. Now a graduated tax, payable in kind, was to be substituted. A free market in grain was to be restored – a capitalist device to encourage the peasants to market as much food as they could grow. Perhaps grain exports could be renewed and used to provide the foreign currency so desperately required. The products of peasant industry could also be brought to the free market. As such concessions would obviously give the peasantry a new purchasing power they must have something to buy, so light or consumer industries would have to be encouraged. N.E.P. gave cautious permission to capitalist entrepreneurs, both Russian and foreign, to set up industries whose products would satisfy peasant demand. The State retained full control over heavy industry, transport, foreign trade and banking. Capitalism had been restored to large segments of Russian economic life. It was hoped that its profits could be eventually diverted towards the advance to socialism, an advance which could come about only through the development of heavy industry. In the meantime, the socialist future must be sacrificed in order to conciliate the peasantry. The results of this decision were profound and far-reaching. The adoption of N.E.P. meant very much more than its strictly economic form. It provided a breathing space – but a breathing space for what? In brief, a pause during which the revolution could be attuned to the traditional facts of Russian life. Order, stability, work-discipline, a sense of continuity, a constitutional and legal framework, all the institutions of civilised life had to be restored. Naturally in this vast task of reconstruction the conservative memories of the people played a great part. Lenin had always proclaimed the need to adapt the teachings of Marx to Russian conditions. The Bolsheviks had always been more ‘slavophil’ than the Mensheviks. To some extent this tendency had been arrested by the Western exile of the Bolshevik leaders, but after 1921 the specifically Russian nature of the party became more pronounced. The final victory of the ‘slavophil’ Bolsheviks was proclaimed by the emergence of Stalin as the leader of the party. His rival, Trotsky, was fatally handicapped by his reputation as a ‘westerniser’, a man who could not be trusted to maintain the balance between the Russian past and the revolutionary present. When Stalin took the next step forward by industrializing Russia under the slogan ‘Socialism in One Country’, he was acting in a way which would have been intelligible to any of the Tsars: that is, inaugurating a revolution from above with the purpose of enhancing state power. This helps to explain what the N.E.P. breathing space was for: it was to enable the party to recover the traditional powers of the vigorous autocrats, to remould them in the pattern of twentieth-century totalitarianism and to return to the Russian tradition – which had been defied in the period 1917-21 – of revolution from above.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 336-340

“Stalin’s power was founded in the middle and lower ranks of the inner-party hierarchy, among the ‘outs’ who were on the edge of becoming ‘ins’. Stalin expected his clientele to rig the elections to the Central Committee: in return they could expect promotion. In order to increase the patronage at his disposal, Stalin encouraged an increase in the size of the Central Committee: the more places to fill, the more power he could exercise. **Essentially, Stalinism was a political system, very similar to such systems in all mass parties. It was the product of ambition, ideology and organisation. It was not, in its origins, the product of terror.** The secret or political police (which changed its name from Cheka to GPU during the twenties) was freely used by the party against its external enemies in the nation, but it was not used against party members until Stalin had achieved bureaucratic centralisation. As the manipulator of political patronage he could, of course, wield ‘terror’ of a sort by the threat to withhold patronage. The threat of purge, the fear of getting a job on the periphery rather than in the centre of power, were important instruments of discipline – but they were no different from the powers employed by the chief of any large organisation in the capitalist world. The growth of the Stalinist machine tended to strengthen one of the original ingredients of Leninist party doctrine. **Lenin had always emphasised the ‘voluntary’ or dynamic aspect of Marxism. He had trained a party to seize power, not to wait until History had performed its prophesied antics.** His rivals inclined to the belief that it was the duty of the Marxist to wait until History had completed its economic evolution. In 1917 political power had been seized but the socialist organisation of economic life was slow to follow. **N.E.P. seemed to many to be a declaration by Lenin that the laws of economic development must be given time to catch up with the political revolution. Socialism could be attained only in conditions of plenty, and no mere seizure of political power could ensure wealth.** But the Stalinist reorganisation of the party enabled the dynamic Leninist line to be reopened. Socialism (of a sort) need not be awaited: it could be grasped, created, driven forwards, by the adoption of economic planning directed by the obedient party.”

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 354

“Before the onward movement could be taken up again, Stalin had to ensure that his command over the middle and lower reaches of the party gave him complete control at the top as well. He was by no means the 'crown prince' to Lenin. Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev all had more powerful claims to the 'throne'. Stalin was regarded as a dour, dull and industrious bureaucrat. Such claims as he had were weakened by the rumours that Lenin had, during his last days, directed some scathing criticisms at Stalin. **But Stalin's trump card was Trotsky himself. This man stood head and shoulders above his rivals in every respect. He was the most brilliant theoretician; he was a demagogue of great power; a writer who could illuminate every subject from history to literary theory; he knew the external world; he was known by foreigners; he had created the Red Army; he had led the 1905 revolution; he had negotiated at Brest-Litovsk; he was Lenin's closest political friend. It seemed inevitable that he should ascend the throne. But in an age in which revolutionary ardour was giving way to organisation, Trotsky's gifts and the superiority which they gave him over common mortals were a positive disadvantage. He was universally feared in the party as the coming 'Bonaparte', the man who would use his special position in the army to seize power over the party. This fear was absurd. Trotsky had no such plans and military power was far distant from his essentially civilian mind. But he was a Jew; he had not joined the Bolshevik party until 1917; he was brilliant; he was 'not quite like us'.** As the party filled up with people who like Stalin had never been abroad, were not intellectuals, had not actually witnessed Trotsky in action in 1917, it became easier for Stalin to point him out as the enemy of party unity, the coming dictator against whom all good party members must close ranks under the leadership of the safe, middle-of-the-road leader, Stalin. These tactics are reminiscent of those by which the British Prime Minister, Baldwin, brought down Lloyd George in 1922. While Lenin lived Trotsky continued to enjoy his protection, but he did little to prepare himself for the coming struggle. Perhaps he was too confident; perhaps he would not stoop to a struggle for power; perhaps he misjudged the implications of the change from revolution to organisation. The very clarity with which he expressed his views (although these were not notably different from Lenin's) made him singular. Every stand which he made seemed to frighten or annoy the party rank and file. He was an outspoken critic of the trade union group in the party (known as the 'Workers' Opposition'). He called for the abolition or at least the emasculation of the unions. Lenin achieved the same result more tactfully by ensuring that union leadership remained in the hands of party members and that these members put their loyalty to the party before their loyalty to the unions. Trotsky loyally accepted both N.E.P. and the ordinance of 1921 which forbade formed opposition groups within the party. But he was soon alleged to be an enemy of N.E.P. He spoke and wrote enthusiastically in favour of planning and industrialization at a moment when the party was trying to conciliate the peasantry. 'There may be moments when the government pays you no wages...and when you, the workers, have to lend to the State.' He was accused of being the enemy of the workers and peasants and of seeking to build up for himself a new centre of power as the boss of industrial planning. His imagination was caught by the possibilities of industrialisation in a backward country. He wrote (with fatal brilliance): 'Moscow is the capital of the Communist International. You travel a few scores of kilometres and – there is wilderness, snow and fir and frozen mud and wild beasts . . . Where Shatura [power] station stands, elks roamed a few years ago. Now metal pylons of exquisite construction run the whole way down from Moscow.' He enthused also about the projected power station on the Dnieper rapids – a work which was shortly to become the showpiece of Soviet Russia. Stalin dourly commented that the power station 'would be of no more use to Russia than a gramophone was to a peasant who did not possess even a cow'. In the field of foreign policy Trotsky became associated with rash and dangerous attempts to provoke revolution in foreign countries. It is hardly surprising, then, that Lenin's illness and death provoked a combination against this apparently rash, ambitious, unreliable and dangerous man. Zinoviev (Leningrad party boss), Kamenev (Moscow party boss) and Stalin (the junior partner) formed an anti-Trotsky triumvirate. Stalin let his partners do all the work while he stood back and, in public, played the part of an honest broker, attempting to moderate the excessive anti-Trotsky hatred of his two partners. When Trotsky attempted to unite all the party dissidents against the triumvirate (Platform of the Forty-six, 1923), the Stalinist-dominated Congress merely accused him of breaking the 1921 ruling about fractionalism. The more he complained about the lack of inner-party democracy and the power of the party bureaucracy, the more it seemed that he was not a good Communist, that his *petit bourgeois* Menshevik past still ruled his mind. The death of Lenin (January 1924) strengthened Stalin's hand. He ostentatiously appeared at the funeral. He ostentatiously associated himself with the public preservation of Lenin's mummified body. He was the guardian of the sacred remains; it was an easy transition to the belief that he was also the anointed heir. This was a brilliant stroke and one which would not have occurred to the rationalist intellectual, Trotsky. The rumours of Lenin's death-bed doubts were effectively scotched. The triumvirate pressed on rapidly to disarm Trotsky. The 1924 and 1925 Congresses were packed against him so that he could hardly get a hearing. He was reduced to publishing accounts of the 1917 revolution highly unflattering to Kamenev and Zinoviev. These two called for his expulsion from the party but Stalin, with crafty moderation, declared himself content with mere expulsion from the commanding position in the War Commissariat (I 92 5). This effectively disarmed Trotsky and left Stalin free to turn suddenly upon his former allies. As the leaders of the big city parties, Kamenev and Zinoviev were under much pressure to ease the condition of urban workers. Unemployment was widespread; the peasant prospered while the worker starved. The cities wanted a change in the N.E.P. programme. They wanted more investment in industry. Stalin took the opportunity offered by this programme now advocated by his allies. He accused them of being Trotskyites at heart, of being the enemies of the peasant, of N.E.P., of Lenin's memory. He turned for support to the right wing of the party, Bukharin, Rykov and Tomsky. The obedient machine duly threw up a majority. Kamenev and Zinoviev fought hard but against them could be used exactly the same weapon which had been used against Trotsky – fractionalism. The defeat of Zinoviev at the Congress was followed by a thorough purge of the Leningrad apparatus by Molotov. Then the faithful Stalinist, Kirov, was placed on

Zinoviev's minor but powerful throne. Only mopping-up operations were now required. Trotsky provided the initiative which allowed Stalin to put the finishing touches to his tactical masterpiece. Now the reason for allowing Trotsky to remain in circulation appeared. In desperation, Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev united forces against Stalin. This was enough to discredit all three. **With considerable but futile ingenuity Trotsky sketched out a programme the very existence of which was a condemnation. He argued that the revolution had succumbed to a *petit bourgeois* reaction. He attacked Bukharin (now Stalin's ally) for being the friend of the *kulak*. Had not Bukharin encouraged the rich peasants to enrich themselves still further? This was to carry N.E.P. far beyond what had originally been intended by Lenin. Lenin had envisaged a temporary retreat, not a complete rout. But the time was long past for ingenious arguments. The delegates to the 15th Conference (1926) never even listened. They shouted down the opposition speakers. Stalin, playing to his right-wing audience, accused Trotsky of wishing to declare war on the peasantry, of stirring up trouble at home and abroad. He won an overwhelming victory. Trotsky was expelled from the Politburo and from the Central Committee (1927). Then, in utter despair, he committed the unforgivable sin. He 'proved' that all the charges against him were true. By means of street meetings and clandestine propaganda he tried to arouse party and popular feeling against the leadership. On the tenth anniversary of the revolution (November 1927), the chief architect of Bolshevik success in 1917 attempted to overthrow the new master of Russia. There was no response. The party was horrified: the city crowds merely gaped at the former popular hero. With great foresight Stalin refrained from the permanent elimination of Trotsky, who was first exiled to the Chinese frontier and then (1929) deported. Trotsky abroad was still to do Stalin great service. The other oppositionists were received back into favour. As repentants they could still be pressed into service against Bukharin and the right. For, of course, Stalin had merely used Bukharin as a temporary ally. Hardly had Trotsky taken up residence at Alma-Ata than Stalin began to put into effect the economic policy which Trotsky had advocated for five years. But there was an important difference between Stalin's execution of industrialisation and Trotsky's advocacy of it. **Stalin's policy of 'socialism in one country' had as its sole objective the strengthening of the Russian State. The ideal of socialism was to be subordinated to the growth of state power.** Trotsky, on the other hand, had advocated industrialisation as a necessary step forward to socialism. Without the increase of wealth which industrialisation would bring he considered that it would be impossible to move forward from the N.E.P. era into the socialist society which the 1917 revolution made possible. His main objective was not the growth of state power but the development of a new order of economic and social relationships. In his view the creation of a wealthy, just and modern socialist order in Russia was the best way of ensuring that the revolution would extend into Europe and Asia. It was difficult for him to infect his contemporaries with his powerful yet nebulous vision. Stalin's line was safer, it was more in tune with Russian national traditions, it offered a clearer task for the party bureaucracy. With the elimination of Trotsky it was simple to neutralise the protests of the right-wing leaders. Their defence of the peasantry was depicted as a continuation of the populist mood of the previous century. They seemed to stand in the way of Stalin's bold plan to make Russia strong. Bukharin, Rykov and Tomskey were allowed to recant but they were expelled from the Politburo and thereafter had little influence. This left the Stalinist centre in power. The age of inner-party politics was over."**

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 355-359

“In the end, Stalin imposed his will upon Poland. Russian national aims were achieved without subjecting the Polish question to a peace conference. A Communist-dominated government was set up in Warsaw. More important, the western frontier changes made the new Poland wholly reliant upon the Soviet Union. Millions of Germans had to be expelled from their homes in the Oder-Neisse territory. This ensured that Poland would be permanently faced by the German demand for revenge and only the Soviet Union could defend her against the German threat. Between the wars Poland was supposed to defend Europe against Russia: after 1945 Poland became Russia's bulwark against Europe. The Polish model was followed in the Russian dealings with the conquered Balkan countries. As the Red Army overran these areas (1944-5) only the fiction of Allied control was retained. In fact, the Soviet government alone imposed armistice terms, set up friendly provisional governments and made political arrangements of a permanent nature. In Romania, for example, the Soviet Union without consulting its allies overthrew one provisional government in order to install another more obedient to its will. To Anglo-Saxon objections Stalin always offered two excuses. First, that the Anglo-Saxons had done the same in Italy; and secondly that it was essential to ensure safe lines of communication while the war continued against the Germans. But there was another side to Stalin's 'spheres of influence' policy. He recognized the point at which he had to stop. Churchill discovered this when he went to Moscow in October 1944. With dramatic ease he made a verbal agreement with Stalin to the effect that Russia would not give aid to the Greek communists. The latter were causing grave concern to the British government. British troops were already in action against them and the commitment seemed intolerable while the fighting against Germany continued. Stalin had no plans for a Russian invasion of Greece. His political aims stretched no further than the Red Army could march. In France, too, he was willing to accept a political settlement highly disadvantageous to the powerful French Communist party. He recognised the right of de Gaulle to head the French provisional government and he backed de Gaulle's demands for an equal voice in the alliance. He could not have more clearly demonstrated the main impulse behind his foreign policy. **None knew better than Stalin that the aftermath of war is revolution. But he showed that he did not intend to take advantage of the revolutionary situation in Europe as a revolutionary leader. He meant only to build an empire out of the conquests of the Red Army.** Although the development of Stalin's policy caused much anxiety among his allies – an anxiety most acutely felt by Churchill – the second meeting of the Big Three at Yalta (February 1945) passed off very cordially. Roosevelt was determined to prevent the Polish problem from poisoning relations. He was delighted to find that Stalin seemed much more enthusiastic about the future role of the United Nations. He was relieved to get from Stalin a firm undertaking to enter the war against Japan three months after the surrender of Germany. Both he and Churchill were pleased by the recent evidence of Soviet military co-operation. When the western front had been temporarily endangered by the German Ardennes offensive Stalin had willingly altered the timetable of Soviet offensives in order to take the weight off his allies. Roosevelt has been accused of excessive generosity towards Stalin at Yalta. It is true that some American officials, like Kennan, had already perceived the menace of Russian ambitions. But Roosevelt was convinced that any post-war settlement must rely upon goodwill between the Soviet Union and the United States. He thought that it would be impossible for his government to keep troops in Europe after the end of the war. Only by good relations could Russia be kept from dominating the whole continent. Since none of the governments had any fixed policy about a permanent German settlement they merely agreed on provisional arrangements to follow the German surrender. Military zones were allocated and an inter-allied control council created for the settlement of questions which concerned the whole of Germany. The prospect of these temporary arrangements becoming permanent was raised by the Soviet insistence upon enormous reparations. In fact as the Russian armies advanced the Soviet Union helped itself to the economic resources of the areas under its control. In the long run this was bound to lead to the creation of an economic structure in eastern Germany quite different from that of the West. But at Yalta it seemed only common justice that Russia, which had suffered so terribly from the German invasion should recoup some of her losses. The one thing which might have prevented Stalin from doing this – a firm promise of American post-war economic aid – even Roosevelt was unable to give. After Yalta relations between the Allies deteriorated rapidly. Roosevelt's successor, Truman, did not share his predecessor's sense of common partnership in a great cause. He was more influenced by the growing opinion among his officials that Russia was actually a menace to American security. American military opinion was less certain of the necessity of Russian aid against Japan. Reports indicated the revolutionary nature of the atomic bomb which had recently been successfully exploded for the first time. At the Potsdam conference (July 1945) Truman took a harsher line than his predecessor. He showed Stalin that Russia could not expect an American loan; he told Stalin about the bomb; and he said that Russia could not expect to take part in the post-war occupation of Japan. At Yalta Stalin had gained an extravagant price for Soviet entry into the war against Japan. From Japan he was to get the Kuriles and southern Sakhalin. From China he was to get control over the Manchurian railways and special rights over Port Arthur and Dairen. In fact, Russia was to be restored to the position which she had occupied before 1905. In order to gain these national territorial objectives Stalin abandoned the Chinese Communist party. He accepted Chiang Kai-shek as the rightful ruler of China – although it should be observed that he weakened and humiliated the Nationalist government of China by making these territorial demands. The Soviet acceptance of the Chinese Nationalists was a great relief to Roosevelt. Chiang had not had a successful war. In spite of massive American aid he had been consistently defeated by the Japanese. Even in victory his government would be weak. If the Soviet Union had chosen to back the Chinese Communists the whole basis of American policy in the Pacific would have been undermined. In spite of Truman's coolness, Stalin hurried to gain the Far Eastern territories promised at Yalta. On 6 August the first bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. On 8 August Russia declared war against Japan. Soviet forces in Manchuria indirectly, and perhaps unwittingly, helped the Chinese Communists to get the lion's share of surrendered Japanese war material. This helped them to seize power four years later – an event almost as unwelcome to Stalin as to the American government. Russia got

what she had been promised at Yalta but nothing more. From Moscow's viewpoint it could be argued that Japan was the American sphere of influence just as the Balkans were the Russian. Many have wondered whether the destruction of the wartime alliance could have been prevented by any one person or by any single act of policy. The world gained so much from the strange alliance and has lost so much by its dissolution into the Cold War. An approach to the problem is offered by an analysis of the possibilities open to Stalin at the end of the war. As has been seen, he adopted a policy of national expansion. Two other courses were possible. First, he could have exploited the revolutionary potential of international communism. It is unlikely that this course would have caused less tension between Russia and her allies. Secondly, he could have fallen in with Roosevelt's plan for an international settlement based upon the continuation of the wartime alliance. But as a Marxist Stalin could have felt no confidence in the continuation of an alliance between a socialist and capitalist powers. The United States and her allies would dominate the United Nations; they would insist upon peace terms which would deny Russia such security as her position in 1945 allowed her to take. American wealth and the American bomb endangered Russian interests in the long run just as much as Germany and Japan had threatened her previously. Stalin thought in terms of inevitable conflict. The elimination of old enmities merely made room for new ones and a divided Germany symbolised the new order. Could Stalin possibly have hoped for such an advantageous settlement from any peace conference? The Anglo-Saxons were bound to want to restore German prosperity and economic unity in the end. Only by putting an iron curtain round his conquests could Stalin ensure that Germany would be too weak to repeat for a third time the eastern conquests which had twice in his own lifetime devastated Russia. Although the decisive factors had changed enormously since the time when he took over the conduct of foreign policy, Stalin's style remained constant until his death in 1953. 'Socialism in one country' had meant a cautious, defensive policy in which Soviet interests had been placed a long way ahead of revolutionary ideals. Yet these ideals have never been openly repudiated and the historical analysis upon which they are based remains the driving force of the ruling class of the Soviet Union. In the party view, there remains an irreconcilable conflict between capitalism and communism and, however long it may be necessary to wait, History is on the communist side. In the short view Stalin may be the man who betrayed the revolution; but in a longer perspective he may be seen as the man who preserved it during the days of its weakness. **The position of the Soviet Union in 1945 is comparable with that of the Russian Empire in 1815. A terrible defeat had in both cases been turned into a swift and overwhelming victory. In both cases, suspicious allies resented the extent of Russian power. These suspicions were immediately transformed into a quarrel about the political frontiers of central Europe.** But here the similarities end. In 1815, Alexander I had secured the consent of conservative Europe for the peace settlement which he helped to create. The rulers of Prussia and Austria, sometimes the rulers of France, were the natural allies of the Russian Tsar against any attempt to overthrow the 1815 settlement. Stalin was far more powerful than Alexander I. Only the United States was in the same class of military and economic power. But the ruler of Communist Russia could not hope to secure consent for a European peace treaty as Alexander had done. For Metternich, Alexander had been the bulwark of a conservative social system. For Truman and Dulles, Stalin represented a threat subversive to their ideology. If Russia in 1945 had merely been another Great Power, no doubt some accommodation with the United States could have been reached. But Russia was much more than a rival for world power. Her social system was an affront to American ideologists, just as that of Tsarist Russia had been to British Russophobes in the nineteenth century. Russia had no right to flaunt such a different way of life. The fact that Soviet Communism was also quite successful made it all the more dangerous. When religious enthusiasm has waned, political systems become all the more important. Human nature was not so diverse as to admit the simultaneous existence of political systems so different as 'the American way of life' and Soviet Communism. One must be right and the other wrong. This was the basis of the cold war. It was intensified by military and strategic factors but it was at bottom an ideological conflict. It has been asserted that mid-twentieth-century technological developments will make both the capitalist and the communist systems identical. This seems doubtful in the light of past Russian history. Tsarist and Stalinist Russia followed the West through the Industrial Revolution but Russia still remained distinct from the West. It will be difficult (even if it were desirable) to eradicate the effects of centuries of autocracy. Russia has continued to move along her own path of development. It has been a path which has led her to emulate many of the achievements of the West, to try to become more powerful than the West, to beat the West at its own game, but few Russians have ever thought it desirable to copy the social and economic forms of Western Europe and the United States. Alexander II's attempt to graft Western liberalism was a total failure. **The Russian views about the nature of man, the State and political power have been and remain different from those of the West."**

– *Russia from 1812 to 1945: A History* by Graham Stephenson, p. 446-451

Holodomor, Moscow Show Trials, and the Great Purge



Ukrainian peasants ignore corpses of starved peasants on a street in Kharkiv, Soviet Ukraine in 1933 during the Great Famine of 1932-1933, also known as “Holodomor”. Millions of Ukrainians living in Soviet Union died of starvation due to Josef Stalin’s policy of collectivization of Soviet agriculture.



A scene from a Moscow Purge Trial in the 1930s. Josef Stalin ordered rival Communist Party members who were loyal to Leon Trotsky or who were perceived as a threat to Josef Stalin personally to be tried in court, where suspects were forced to confess to their “crimes”. Most Communist “suspects” were executed upon conviction.



A Communist party official instructs peasants on collectivization (Roger Viollet/Gamma Liaison)



Russian farmers deposit grain in a Russian church in Petrovsky in 1930. The church was being used as a granary. (UPI/Corbis-Bettmann)

The Orthodox Church in Soviet Russia

By [Paul B. Anderson](#)

[January 1961 Issue](#) of Foreign Affairs

Christianity entered Russia from Byzantium. In the year 988, Prince Vladimir was baptized in the River Dnieper, with all the inhabitants of Kiev, and the pagan statues were destroyed. Thus was born the Russian Orthodox Church, and thus Byzantine theology, liturgical forms and church-state relationships were established as basic characteristics of popular religion in Russia. Since this missionary enterprise took place at the height of the quarrel between the Patriarch of the East and the Pope of the West, the Russian Church and people inherited the Eastern Church's antagonism to Rome and the West and shared its isolation from the Renaissance, the Reformation and the rise of modern concepts of social Christianity. Instead, the Russian Orthodox Church entered the twentieth century with the religious outlook developed no later than the Seventh Ecumenical Council, held in 787. The Russians claim with pride that the Orthodox Church is the true Church of the Apostles, the Scripture, the creeds and the canons accepted in the first seven Councils, and they look gingerly at all other churches, which, they say, separated from it at the time of the Great Schism.

Source: <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/71611/paul-b-anderson/the-orthodox-church-in-soviet-russia>



Photo of the destruction of the original Church of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, Soviet Russia in 1931.

Trial of the Twenty-One (March 1938): Moscow Show Trial (Kangaroo Court) Extraordinaire



Nikolay Krestinsky
Soviet Ambassador to
Germany (1921-1930);
People's Commissar for
Finance of the Russian
SFSR (1918-1922);
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Genrikh Grigoryevich
Yagoda
People's Commissar for
Internal Affairs (NKVD)
(1934-1936)
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Alexei Rykov
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars
of the Soviet Union (1924-
1930); **Executed in
Moscow on March 15,
1938**



Nikolai Bukharin
Chairman of the
Communist International
(Comintern, 1926-1929);
Editor-in-Chief of *Pravda*
(1918-1929);
**Executed in Moscow on
March 15, 1938**



Christian Rakovsky
Soviet Ambassador to
France (1925-1927);
Chairman of the Council
of People's Commissars
of the Ukrainian SSR
(1919-1923); **Executed
on September 11, 1941**



Josef Stalin & "Comrades" participate at the funeral of Felix Dzerzhinsky, founder of the Cheka, in Moscow in July 1926. From left to right: Aleksei Rykov, Genrikh Yagoda (in cap), M. I. Kalinin, Leon Trotsky, Lev B. Kamenev, Josef Stalin, K. G. Rakovsky (obscured by Stalin's shoulder), and Nikolai Bukharin. Rykov, Yagoda, and Bukharin were all executed (shot) after the Moscow Trials on March 15, 1938. Kamenev was executed in 1936; Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico in 1940. Rakovsky was imprisoned and exiled by Stalin during the purges.



Josef Stalin, Nikolai Yezhov (NKVD chief), and Vyacheslav Molotov (later Foreign Minister) walk along the shore of the Moskwa-Wolga-Channel in the late 1930s. **Yezhov was tortured and executed in Moscow on February 4, 1940.**



The first five Marshals of the Soviet Union in November, 1935. Left to right: Mikhail Tukhachevsky, Semyon Budyonny, Kliment Voroshilov, Vasily Blyukher, Aleksandr Yegorov. Only Budyonny and Voroshilov survived the Great Purge. Marshal Vasily Blyukher was a Soviet military adviser in China from 1924 to 1927, assisting Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalists.

A son emerges from the shadows: Sergo Beria comes out of 41 years of anonymity and tells Andrew Higgins in Kiev about his father, Stalin's dreaded henchman

By ANDREW HIGGINS
Wednesday 06 July 1994

FROM 26 June 1953 - the day Nikita Khrushchev drove his father from the Kremlin at gunpoint - until today, 6 July 1994 - the date his blue service passport issued by the Soviet Union expires - the son of one of the century's great villains has lived as someone else.

For the past four decades, he went by the name Sergei Alekseevich Gegechkori, a fake identity crafted by the secret policemen his father once commanded. 'They said I needed a new name to protect me from the rage of the people,' he recalls. 'My friends, though, all call me Sergo.'

And this is the name that links this jolly, roly-poly, 69-year-old with the most chilling figure of Soviet history.

He was named Sergo at birth in the Georgian capital of Tbilisi in honour of Sergo Ordzhonikidze, a Bolshevik who conquered the Caucasus for Communism but whose brutality shocked even Lenin into denouncing him as a thug.

But it is Sergo's full name - the one he hopes to get put in a new passport issued by the new independent state of Ukraine - that recalls the bloodiest episodes of all: Sergo Lavrentievich Beria.

His father was Lavrenti Beria, head of the NKVD from 1938 until 1946 and overall chief of perhaps the most ruthless security apparatus ever assembled until Stalin's and then his own death in 1953. After he died, owners of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia were invited to paste over a glowing entry on Beria with a substitute text on the Bering Sea.

'I am not trying to rehabilitate my father. No one in that regime can be rehabilitated but things should be known,' says Sergo, who has just published his memoirs in Russian: *My Father: Lavrenti Beria*.

He describes life at home with a man usually remembered as a prolific murderer and insatiable womaniser: 'He liked history and loved books. He had a very good library. All of us were educated people.' A rocket scientist by training, Sergo remembers the family mansion on Vspolny Lane, where they lived after moving from Tbilisi to Moscow in 1938, as a sanctuary of civilised conversation. Visitors, he said, included the Cambridge spy, Kim Philby, the American nuclear scientist, Robert Oppenheimer, and Golda Meir, Israel's ambassador to Moscow. A frequent caller was Stalin's daughter, Svetlana, whom he remembers fondly as a lost little girl but whom he also criticises for turning against her father, whom Sergo never refers to as Stalin but always by the more cosily respectful Josef Vissarionovich.

He says his father always slept at home and rejects tales of epic lechery, although he does concede at least one child from an illicit liaison. 'Lots of old maids now claim they were his mistress. I know only one thing. In the early 1950s father told me: Life is very strange; you have a little sister.'

The Great Terror did sometimes impinge: 'It was very unpleasant to know they are listening when you are alone with your wife. I asked my father to do something. He said: 'You are a scientist, why don't you make something so they cannot hear what you do in your bedroom?' '

Sometimes, though, Sergo did the eavesdropping. He says he was flown to Tehran at the end of 1943 to help translate tape-recordings of bugged conversations between Roosevelt and Churchill at the first Allied meeting to which Stalin had been invited.

'I am fed up of reading rubbish about my father,' he says. 'He was not a monster. He was smart. He was soft.'

One thing he wants put straight is how his father died. The official version is that he was executed on 24 December 1953 for treason, counter-revolutionary conspiracy and other crimes. The case was heard in camera by a kangaroo court. Scholars are still mystified about what really happened.

Sergo insists his father died six months earlier, on the day Khrushchev moved to fill a power vacuum left by Stalin's death in March. 'The outer wall where my father had his study and bedroom had big holes from bullets. There had obviously been shooting. The window was broken and so was the door. We were standing outside for about 20 minutes when some people came out with a stretcher covered by a tarpaulin. They put it in an armoured car. Then one of our bodyguards shouted: 'Sergo, that is your father'.'

Arrested that night along with his mother, Nino, he was held first at a dacha outside Moscow and then at Lefortovo Prison. Freed a year later, they moved to Sverdlovsk, a city where a young building foreman called Boris Yeltsin was beginning his climb of the Communist Party hierarchy. Sergo resumed work on missile systems and later moved to Kiev.

Lavrenti Beria's widow died two years ago. Sergo went back to Georgia with his own son, also a scientist, to bury her. They had a talk with Eduard Shevardnadze about designing an anti-aircraft system.

Sergo then travelled alone to his father's birthplace in Merkheuli, a village in the war-ravaged region of Abkhazia on the Black Sea. Four decades after Beria's death, though, the whereabouts of his grave is still secret. Along with Stalin, another Georgian but one buried in Red Square, Lavrenti Beria is Russia's nightmare. Also its excuse. 'Right up to Gorbachev they all kept saying the same thing: everything was well with the Party until those two Georgians made us all so unhappy.'

Source: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/a-son-emerges-from-the-shadows-sergo-beria-comes-out-of-41-years-of-anonymity-and-tells-andrew-higgins-in-kiev-about-his-father-stalins-dreaded-henchman-1411967.html>

"I did not write this book in order to rehabilitate the memory of my father – or, at least, that was not my prime purpose. I am perfectly well aware now that it was not possible to be one of the leaders of the USSR without soiling one's hands. There was always a choice to be made. My father was a member of the Politburo and of the government. He was responsible, like the rest, for all the acts of that government, even if he disagreed with some of them. But a certain Russian intelligentsia, which I shall call chauvinist, presents the Stalin period in a way that I want to challenge. If we are to believe the representatives of this tendency, the unfortunate Russian people fell victim to non-Russians who had seized power and begun to exploit the Russians. Communism and Leninism would have borne a human face had they not been deformed by two uncouth Asiatics from the Caucasus and, above all, by the monster Beria. Well, I maintain that, whatever they may say, the Russians bear some responsibility for what happened. They welcomed with enthusiasm the plundering and expropriation preached by the Bolsheviks. They accepted the slaughtering of officers and priests. A handful of Bolsheviks would never have managed to impose this monstrous policy from 1917 onwards had they not enjoyed the active support of the Russian people. True, non-Russians were numerous among the first Bolshevik leaders. But without the backing of the Russian masses, these leaders would never have implemented any of their programmes. Besides, the influence of individuals on the Bolshevik system was always limited. The personality of one leader or another might emphasise certain features but could not modify the foundations of the regime. My father was accused of responsibility for everything that went wrong so as to exculpate the Bolshevik system and the Party. Since he had put the Party in jeopardy it was necessary to conceal at all costs the fact that he had been a political adversary. The simplest thing to do was to show him to the masses as a bandit at all levels - traitor, spy, rapist, ignoramus and oaf into the bargain. Yet it is enough to take cognisance of the minutes of the July 1953 Plenum to see that the charges brought against him were essentially political in nature. He was accused of having wanted to reunify Germany by abandoning the construction of Socialism in the GDR, of having sabotaged the collective-farm system, of having sought to emancipate the republics and to reduce the role of the Party - in short, of not being a Communist. Today, the Party and Bolshevism have vanished from the scene, but where my father is concerned the same line is followed, this time owing to the incurable chauvinism with which the Russian elites are infected. The notes and reports that my father addressed to the Presidium, with his proposals for reforms, have still not been published. I await with impatience the opening of the archives, as this will make it possible to determine the actual degree of his guilt. He has been depicted as a careerist without any conviction. I consider that if he had wanted to take power, he could have done that in Stalin's lifetime as well as after his death. I want to show that, from the start, my father had a policy. Sometimes he was able to put it into effect, at other times this was not possible. This policy was pursued through opposition, sometimes masked, at other times open, to the leaders of the Party. He was certainly no humanist who dreamt of the people's well-being. He was a pragmatic statesman who wanted to get results. He was against the repression not out of humanity but because he considered men were not to be won over by fear. This concern for effectiveness dictated his policy in every sphere: in agriculture, industry, foreign policy, national policy, which were all interlinked. The conflict crystallised around foreign policy. My father did not want the Soviet Union to dominate the world - a useless and stupid project, in his view. He was beaten, and paid with his life. His mistake was perhaps to have gone beyond the framework of Georgia. He wanted to rescue Russia from the Bolshevik noose that was strangling her. He overestimated the common sense of those around him and underestimated their perfidy. In this account I have based myself on what I was myself witness to. I have also mentioned fairly frequently things told me by my mother and others. I do not always remember the exact words of my informants, but I have tried to reconstitute the correct meaning of statements that have stayed in my memory."

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 297-298 (Author's Epilogue)

“The story told by the son of the man whom people called Stalin’s butcher takes us, over many years, right inside the narrow circle within which everything in the USSR and a large part of the world was decided. **As Stalin’s right-hand man for a long time, [NKVD chief Lavrenti] Beria holds the keys to many secrets of the Politburo. Like Eichmann and Mengele for the Nazis, he symbolises the worst of the Communist excesses within his own country and beyond. His name still evokes a vitriolic hatred in the hearts of many in the West and in Eastern Europe, and his popular image is that of a sinister, sadistic spymaster with whips in his office and the habit of driving down the windswept avenues of Moscow on the prowl for women. It is this combination of an insatiable libido matched by ruthless ambition, unspeakable cruelty and an explosive temper that set Beria truly apart from other Politburo.** Having – some say – poisoned Stalin when he became infirm on 5 March 1953, Beria combined the internal and external security services under his command the next day, in a move that made him seem destined to take Stalin's chair. Had his colleagues not struck him down a hundred days later by arresting, trying and executing him on charges of being among other things a British spy, it would have appeared at the time that the man considered Stalin's evil genius was well on his way to replacing his former master and surpassing him in cruelty. To be sure, Stalin had had no need of instigation from Beria in order to launch collectivisation, deport the kulaks (peasants), starve the Ukrainians to death, set up the trials and organise the 'great terror' of 1937. But Beria was no mean helper in implementing those horrors at a local level when he was still a Party chief in Georgia. He had organised and directed the terror in his own fiefdom, where the period 1937-1938 has left a frightful memory. **Torture was practised on a large scale and there are several testimonies to torture sessions presided over by Beria in person in Tbilisi and, later, in Moscow. When Beria replaced the Russian Yezhov at the head of the NKVD at the end of 1938, he put an end to the 'great terror' (evidently at Stalin's behest) and released a large number of prisoners, but without ceasing to practise repression and torture. He organised the massacre of the Polish officers at Katyn in the spring of 1940, the assassination of Trotsky, the deportation of the peoples and the repressive measures taken during the war.** He remained at the head of the NKVD until January 1946, when perhaps even Stalin had started to fear the man he had created and ordered him to devote himself to building the atomic bomb and administering some vital sectors of the Soviet economy. The testimonies also confirm the kidnapping of women and what people in Tbilisi called Beria’s ‘Sultan's habits’.”

– Francoise Thorn, from *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin’s Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. vii-viii (Editor's Preface)

“[Lavrenti] Beria is today perceived in accordance with history as written by Khrushchev. It was Khrushchev who, for obvious reasons, first styled the chief of Stalin's police a cold-blooded monster, a primitive brute, a sadistic torturer, a diabolical intriguer, a sex maniac crouched on the lookout in his black limousine as he drove about Moscow, grabbing women off the streets. To the end of his life Khrushchev remained very proud of having liquidated Beria. After all, it was thanks to the coup d'etat that he organised against Beria that Khrushchev took power and managed to establish, to some degree, the legitimacy of his position within the Party's ruling elite. In order that his exploit might be properly appreciated, Beria's image had to be painted as black as possible. This was one of the reasons for the trial of Beria and his accomplices being held in camera in 1953, ending in their death sentences in December of that year. Another reason for that trial was acknowledged later by Khrushchev- it was a first attempt at taking account of Stalin's crimes without accusing Stalin himself, putting responsibility for them on to 'the Beria gang' and presenting Beria as 'Stalin's evil genius'. This version was taken up by Svetlana Allilueva, for understandable reasons. She had already been encouraged to take this line by Stalin himself. In its most brilliant passages this book shows that Stalin knew the art of making out his wicked actions to be initiatives forced on him by those around him, and he loved making Beria play the role of 'the bad man' (for example, when he presented him to Roosevelt as 'our Himmler', a joke which greatly embarrassed the American president). At Stalin's court Khrushchev survived by playing the buffoon, Beria by playing the executioner. Each had the right physique for the job. It is on the mentality of the Soviet leaders that this book offers the most interesting revelations. The deep-seated hatred of Russia and the far-reaching importance of nationality in the power balance comes as a surprise...[T]hey are all aware that **they are participating in a criminal regime and committing infamous deeds.** Some of them, at least, know that they will have accounts to render to posterity. Every apparatchik of a certain rank begins to compile dossiers that compromise his rivals and potential opponents. These dossiers concern crimes committed by order of higher authority. **Like a Mafia ‘godfather’, Stalin takes care to compromise his confederates in systematic fashion, and any attempt to get out of this duty to murder, collectively or individually, brings down his suspicion and his vengeance. The Soviet regime emerges as a regime of blackmailers, a supremely hypocritical regime in which vice never stops paying homage to virtue and in which baseness disguises itself as duty, cowardice as altruism, treason as charity, sadism as efficiency, stupidity as patriotism.**”

– Francoise Thorn, from *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin’s Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. ix-x (Editor's Preface)

Josef Stalin: Commissar-in-Chief



British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, Soviet Russia's Commissar Josef Stalin, and Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. partner Averell Harriman prepare for a meeting in August 1942.

“Stalinism is the most concentrated and consistent manifestation of the technocratic attitude toward humanity. It is a negation of freedom of choice and the intellectual autonomy of the individual. Probably few other periods in the history of humankind held the individual in such low esteem, treated the individual’s sufferings with such indifference, and so openly flouted the fundamental intellectual values of human life. The fear and hatred generated by Stalinism not only made humans callous in spirit and blunted the moral sense but also resulted in crude social thinking. Absolute power over people, their lives and work, gives little incentive to discover what those people are and what they think or feel, to comprehend the eternal and fundamental problems of humanity’s existence. A person whose destiny is fully in your hands, who is obliged to obey without question your every order is, in fact, no longer a human being but a thing, an object for the exercise of the will of an omnipotent ruler. Is it any wonder then that people devoted to Stalin today still come down with indignation on all those who champion the right to intellectual autonomy of the personality and who dare speak about moral sense and the freedom of moral choice, of the right to an independent judgment or opinion? A wronged soul revolts not against its oppressor but against the one who reminds it of its defect. It does not want the truth, which it is unable to embrace once again; it has grown lazy and does not want to shoulder the responsibility of an independent choice or free judgment. **The most terrible legacy left by Stalinism is hardened souls.”**

– *Is Stalinism Really Dead?* by Alexander S. Tsipko (1990), Chapter 8, p. 221

“The real explosion came at a secret all-night session on February 24-25 [1956] from which all foreign delegates were excluded; those who listened were warned to take no notes or records. In a speech of 30,000 words Khrushchev made a horrifying attack on Stalin as a bloodthirsty and demented tyrant who had destroyed tens of thousands of loyal party members on falsified evidence, or no evidence at all, merely to satisfy his own insatiable thirst for power. All the charges which had been made by anti-Communists and anti-Stalinists in the 1930's were repeated and driven home with specific details, dates, and names. The full nightmare of the Soviet system was revealed, not as an attribute of the system (which it was), but as a personal idiosyncrasy of Stalin himself; not as the chief feature of Communism from 1917 (which it was), but only as its chief feature since 1934; and nothing was said of the full collaboration in the process of terror provided to Stalin by the surviving members of the Politburo led by Khrushchev himself. But all the rest, which the fellow travelers throughout the world had been denying for a generation, poured out: the enormous slave-labor camps, the murder of innocent persons by tens of thousands, the wholesale violation of law, the use of fiendishly planned torture to exact confessions for acts never done or to involve persons who were completely innocent, the ruthless elimination of whole classes and of whole nations (such as the army officers, the kulaks, and the Kalmuck, Chechen, Ingush, and Balkar minority groups). The servility of writers, artists, and everyone else, including all party members, to the tyrant was revealed, along with the total failure of his agricultural schemes, his cowardice and incompetence in the war, his insignificance in the early history of the party, and his constant rewriting of history to conceal these things. A few passages from this speech will indicate its tone:

“Stalin’s negative characteristics, which in Lenin’s time, were only beginning, changed in his last years in a grave abuse of power which caused untold harm to the Party.... Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his ideas and by demanding complete submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed this or tried to argue his own point of view was doomed to be purged and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation.... Stalin originated the concept ‘enemy of the people,’ a term which made it unnecessary to prove the ideological errors of the victim; it made it possible to use the cruelest repression and utmost illegality against anyone who disagreed in any way with Stalin, against those who were only suspected or had been subjects of rumors. This concept ‘enemy of the people’ eliminated any possibility of ideological fight or of rebuttal. Usually the only evidence used, against all the rules of modern legal science, was the confession of the accused, and, as subsequent investigation showed, such ‘confessions’ were obtained by physical pressure on the accused.... The formula ‘enemy of the people’ was specifically introduced for the purpose of physically annihilating these persons.... He abandoned the method of ideological struggle for administrative violence, mass repressions, and terror.... Lenin used such methods only against actual class enemies and not against those who blunder or err and whom it is possible to lead through theory and even retain as leaders.... Stalin so elevated himself above the party and above the state that he ceased to consider either the Central Committee or the party.... The number of arrests based on charges of counterrevolutionary crimes increased tenfold from 1936 to 1937.... When the cases of some of these so-called ‘spies’ and ‘saboteurs’ were examined, it was found that all their cases were fabricated. Confessions of guilt of many were gained by cruel and inhuman tortures.... Comrade Rudzutak, candidate member of the Politburo, party member from 1905, who spent ten years in a czarist hard-labor camp, completely retracted in court the confession which had been forced from him.... This retraction was ignored, in spite of the fact that Rudzutak had been chief of the party Central Control Commission established by Lenin to ensure party unity.... He was not even called before the Central Committee’s Politburo because Stalin refused to talk to him. Sentence was pronounced in a trial of twenty minutes, and he was shot. After careful reexamination of the case in 1955, it was established that the accusation against Rudzutak was false and based on falsified evidence.... The way in which the NKVD manufactured fictitious ‘anti-Soviet centers and blocs’ can be seen in the case of Comrade Rozenblum, party member from 1906, who was arrested in 1937 by the Leningrad NKVD.... He was subjected to terrible torture during which he was ordered to confess false information about himself and other persons. He was then brought to the office of Zakovsky, who offered him freedom on condition that he make before the court a false confession fabricated in 1937 by the NKVD concerning ‘sabotage, espionage, and subversion in a terroristic center in Leningrad.’ With unbelievable cynicism, Zakovsky told about the method for the creation of fabricated, ‘anti-Soviet plots.’ . . . ‘You yourself,’ said Zakovsky, ‘will not need to invent anything. The NKVD will prepare for you an outline for every branch of the center; you will have to study it carefully and to remember well all questions and answers which the court may ask. . . . Your future will depend on how the trial goes and on its results. If you manage to endure it, you will save your head, and we will feed and clothe you at the government’s expense until your death.’ . . . The NKVD prepared lists of persons whose cases were before the Military Tribunal and whose sentences were prepared in advance. Yezhov would send these lists to Stalin personally for his approval of the punishments. In 1937-1938 such lists of many thousands of party, government, Communist Youth, army, and economic workers were sent to Stalin. He approved those lists.... **Stalin was a very distrustful man, morbidly suspicious; we knew this from our work with him. He would look at a man and say, ‘Why are your eyes so shifty today?’ or, ‘Why are you turning so much today and why do you avoid looking at me directly?’ This sickly suspicion created in him distrust of eminent party workers he had known for years. Everywhere and in everything he saw ‘enemies,’ ‘two-facers,’ and ‘spies.’ . . . How is it possible that a person confesses to crimes which he has not committed? Only in one way—by application of physical pressure, tortures, bringing him to a state of unconsciousness, deprivation of his judgment, taking away of his human dignity. In this way were ‘confessions’ obtained....** Only a few days before the present congress we called to the Central Committee

Presidium and interrogated the investigative judge Rodos, who in his time investigated and interrogated Kossior, Chubar, and Kosaryev. **He is a vile person, with the brain of a bird, and morally completely degenerate.** And it was this man who was deciding the fate of prominent party workers.... He told us, 'I was told that Kossior and Chubar were people's enemies and for that reason, I, as investigative judge, had to make them confess that they are enemies.... I thought that I was executing the orders of the party.'

The "secret speech" also destroyed Stalin's reputation as a military genius:

"During the war and afterward, Stalin said that the tragedy experienced by the nation in the early days of the war resulted from the unexpected attack by the Germans. But, Comrades, this is completely untrue.... By April 3, 1941, Churchill through his ambassador to the USSR, Cripps, personally warned Stalin that the Germans were regrouping their armed units to attack the Soviet Union.... Churchill stressed this repeatedly in his dispatches of April 18 and in the following days. Stalin took no heed of these warnings. Moreover, he warned that no credence be given to information of this sort in order not to provoke the beginning of military operations. Information of this kind on German invasion of Soviet territory was coming in from our own military and diplomatic sources.... Despite these particularly grave warnings, the necessary steps were not taken to prepare the country properly for defense and to prevent it from being caught unawares. Did we have time and resources for such preparation? Yes, we did. Our industry was fully capable of supplying everything the Soviet Army needed.... Had our industry been mobilized properly and in time to supply the Army, our wartime losses would have been decidedly smaller.... On the eve of the invasion, a German citizen crossed our border and stated that the German armies had orders to start their offensive on the night of June 22 at 3:00 A.M. Stalin was informed of this immediately, but even this was ignored. As you see, everything was ignored.... The result was that in the first hours and days the enemy destroyed in our border regions a large part of our air force, artillery, and other equipment; he annihilated large numbers of our soldiers and disorganized our military leadership; consequently we could not prevent the enemy from marching deep into the country. Very grievous consequences, especially at the beginning of the war, followed Stalin's destruction of many military commanders and political workers during 1937-1941, because of his suspiciousness and false accusations.... During that time the leaders who had gained military experience in Spain and in the Far East were almost completely liquidated.... After the first severe disaster and defeats at the front, Stalin thought that this was the end. He said, 'All that which Lenin created we have lost forever.' After this, Stalin for a long time actually did not direct the military operations and ceased to do anything whatever.... Therefore, the danger which hung over our Fatherland in the first period of the war was largely due to the faulty methods of directing the nation and the party by Stalin himself. Later the nervousness and hysteria which Stalin showed, interfering with actual military operations, caused our army serious damage. He was very far from any understanding of the real situation which was developing on the front. This was natural, for, in the whole war, he never visited any section of the front or any liberated city.... When a very serious situation developed for our army in the Kharkov region in 1942, we decided to give up an operation seeking to encircle Kharkov to avoid fatal consequences if the operation continued.... Contrary to sense, Stalin rejected our suggestion and issued orders to continue the operation.... I telephoned to Stalin at his villa, but he refused to answer the phone, and Malenkov was on the receiver.... I stated for a second time that I wanted to speak to Stalin personally about the grave situation at the front. But Stalin did not consider it convenient to raise the phone and insisted that I must speak to him through Malenkov, although he was only a few steps away. After listening in this fashion to our plea, Stalin said, 'Let everything remain as it is!' What was the result of this? The worst that we had expected. The Germans surrounded our army concentrations and we lost hundreds of thousands of our soldiers. This is Stalin's military genius and what it cost us.... After this party congress we shall have to reevaluate our military operations and present them in their true light.... After our great victory which cost us so much, Stalin began to belittle many of the commanders who contributed to the victory, because Stalin excluded every possibility that victories at the front should be credited to anyone but himself.... He began to tell all kinds of nonsense about Zhukov.... He popularized himself as a great leader and tried to inculcate in the people the idea that all victories won in the war were due to the courage, daring, and genius of Stalin and no one else.... Let us take, for instance, our historical and military films and some written works; they make us feel sick. Their real purpose is the propagation of the theme of Stalin as a military genius. Remember the film *The Fall of Berlin*. Here only Stalin acts; he issues orders in a hall in which there are many empty chairs, and only one man approaches him and reports to him—that is Poskrebyshchev, ill's loyal shield-bearer. Where is the military command? Where is the Politburo? Where is the government? What are they doing? There is nothing about them in the film. Stalin acts for everybody; he pays no attention to them; he asks no one for advice. Where are the military who bear the burden of the war? They are not in the film; with Stalin in, there is no room for them.... You see to what Stalin's delusions of grandeur led. He had completely lost consciousness of reality.... One characteristic example of Stalin's selfglorification and of his lack of elementary modesty was his *Short Biography* published in 1948. It is an expression of most dissolute flattery, making a man into a god, transforming him into an infallible sage, 'the greatest leader and most sublime strategist of all times and nations.' No other words could be found to raise Stalin to the heavens. We need not give examples of the loathsome adulation filling this book. They were all approved and edited by Stalin personally, and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft of the book.... He added, 'Although he performed his task of leader of the party and the people with consummate skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the whole Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit, or self-

adulation.' . . . I'll cite one more insertion made by Stalin: 'The advanced Soviet science of war received further development at Comrade Stalin's hands. He elaborated the theory of the permanently operating factors that decided the issue of wars.... Comrade Stalin's genius enabled him to divine the enemy's plans and defeat them. The battles in which Comrade Stalin directed the Soviet armies are brilliant examples of operational military skill.' "All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noticed it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never traveled anywhere, did not meet city or farm workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces. He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture. They so pictured collective farm life that the tables were bending from the weight of turkeys and geese. Stalin thought it was actually so.... Stalin proposed that the taxes paid by the collective farms and by their workers should be raised by 40 billion rubles; according to him the peasants are well off, and the collective farm worker would need sell only one more chicken to pay his tax in full. Imagine what this meant. Certainly, 40 billion rubles is a sum greater than everything the collective farmers obtained for all the products they sold to the state. In 1952, for instance, the collective farms and their workers received 26,280 million rubles for all their products sold to the government.... The proposal was not based on an actual assessment of the situation but on the fantastic ideas of a person divorced from reality."

It was inconceivable that this extraordinary speech could be kept a secret, in spite of all the warnings at its delivery that it must be. Versions of it, some of them softened, were sent out by the Kremlin to foreign party leaders. One of these found its way to the United States government and was published on June 2, 1956. There is not the slightest doubt that the speech is authentic and that almost everything it says is true."

– *Tragedy and Hope* by Carroll Quigley, Chapter 69 (The Rise of Khrushchev, 1953-1958), p. 1016-1022



The Eighth Bolshevik Party Congress in 1919. Stalin appears with Lenin and his fellow Commissars. M. I. Kalinin is on Lenin's left.



Left photo: Soviet Russian despots Leon Trotsky and Vladimir Lenin appear with Russian children.
Right photo: Vladimir Lenin (left) and Josef Stalin smile for the camera.

“Stalin was indeed the continuator of Lenin. It was said that the elections at our last congresses were fiddled. Well, said my father, all the Bolshevik Party’s congresses, from the start, were manipulated. The only difference was that, in the beginning, people had the right to hold forth a bit more freely, but the resolutions were adopted in advance. **Moreover, it was before they came to power that the Bolsheviks worked out their strategy for internal struggle. The technique of stealing their opponents’ programme was practised before the revolution. We owe to Lenin the first steps in constructing the barracks-Socialism that was Bolshevism. And democratic centralism? A pure imposture.** My father even put it to me one day when I mentioned the assassination of Trotsky that, if he had succeeded Lenin, things would have been still worse. **It was he [Trotsky] and Lenin who had created the concentration camps and the system of political commissars in the Red Army. They had begun the shooting of hostages. And Trotsky thought that the revolution should not be confined to Russia but should be spread all over the world.**” – *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin’s Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 287



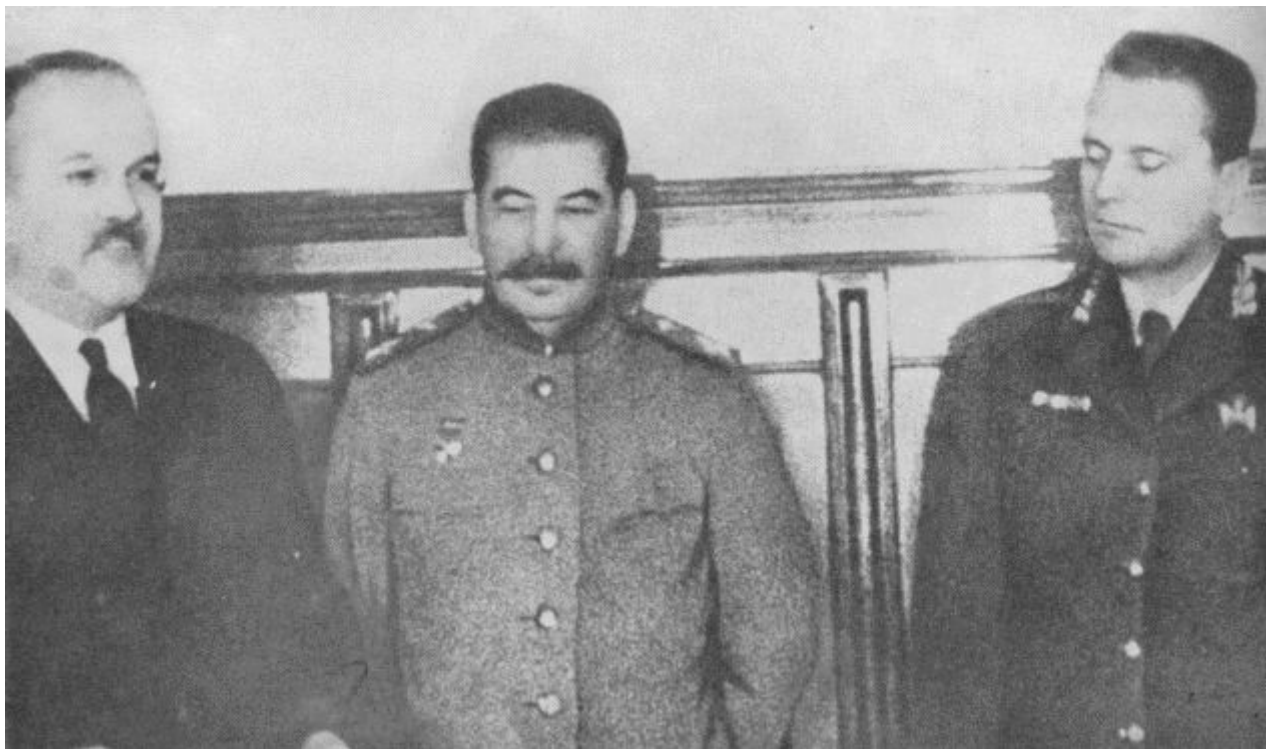
Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. partner Averell Harriman sits between British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Russia's Commissar Josef Stalin in August 1942. George W. Bush's grandfather Prescott Bush and Averell's brother Roland Harriman financed the Nazis before and during World War II. Averell Harriman was a member of Skull & Bones and the Council on Foreign Relations. Soviet Russian Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov is seated on the far right. (Photo: Library of Congress)



Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin (left) appears with U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union W. Averell Harriman atop Lenin's Tomb during a Soviet military parade held in Moscow on August 12, 1945.



Marshal Alexander Vasilevsky, Marshal Grigori Zhukhov, Josef Stalin, Kliment Voroshilov, and N. A. Bulganin appear together.



Josip Broz Tito (right) stands next to Soviet dictator Josef Stalin. Tito claimed that Yugoslavia was “independent” and that Yugoslavia did not adhere to the Soviet party line.



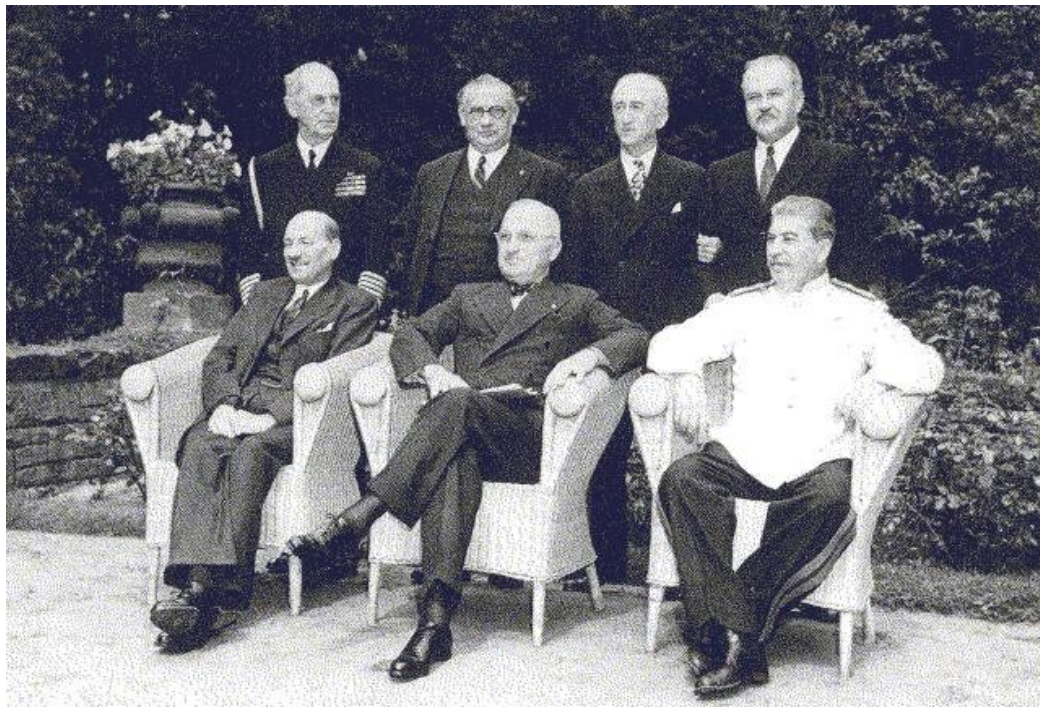
Officials of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party review a military parade during May Day Parade in Moscow, Soviet Union on May 1, 1937. On top, from left, are Stalin, Kaganovich, Akulov, Andreyev, Dimitrov, Yezhov, Mikoyan, Molotov, Chubar, and Kalinin. At bottom are the marshals, Tukhachevsky, Belov, Voroshilov, Yegorov, and Budyonny. Eleven days later Tukhachevsky would be arrested and eventually shot; in less than two years, Belov, Yegorov, and Chubar, would be dead. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Prominent Soviet Commissars, including Josef Stalin (left), Vyacheslav Molotov (4th left), and Lavrenti Beria (right) stand atop the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow, Soviet Union on November 7, 1938.



Churchill, Truman, and Stalin, Potsdam, July 31, 1945 (Wide World)



Clement Attlee and Harry Truman appear with Josef Stalin at the Potsdam Conference in 1945.



Original caption: "Conference of the Big Three at Yalta makes final plans for the defeat of Germany. The "Big Three" sit on the patio together during the Yalta conference in February 1945. Left to right: British Prime Minister Winston S. Churchill, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Soviet Premier Josef Stalin. (U.S. Army photo)"

Molotov, Khrushchev, and Stalin on the Lenin Mausoleum during a May Day parade (1934?)



Vyacheslav Molotov (left), Nikita Khrushchev, and Josef Stalin wave to the crowd during a May Day parade. President Franklin D. Roosevelt talks to Josef Stalin during World War II.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-H27337
Foto: o. Ang. 123. August 1939

Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin (left) shakes hands with Nazi German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop in Moscow, Soviet Russia on August 23, 1939. (Photo: German Federal Archives)



Secretary of Commerce Harry Hopkins (left) poses with Soviet dictator Josef Stalin during his visit to Russia in August 1941.
(Photo: Margaret Bourke-White/Time Life)



(NY7 SEPT. 26) AMERICANS IN KREMLIN VISIT--WENDELL WILLKIE, TOURING THE MIDDLE EAST, RUSSIA AND CHINA, AS PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE, TALKED WITH RUSSIAN PREMIER JOSEPH STALIN IN MOSCOW. HERE, AT MEETING, ARE (LEFT TO RIGHT): V.M. MOLOTOV, RUSSIAN FOREIGN COMMISSAR; JOSEPH BARNES, OF THE U.S. OFFICE OF WAR INFORMATION; STALIN; INTERPRETER V.N. PAVLOV; WILLKIE; AND GARDNER COWLES, JR., OF THE OWI. (APWIREPHOTO BY RADIO FROM MOSCOW) (JB714JUSOV) 1942

Wendell Willkie (2nd right), a former presidential candidate of the Republican Party, Joseph Barnes (2nd left), an employee at the U.S. Office of War Information, and American politician, and American journalist Gardner Cowles Jr. (right) meet with Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin (center) and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov in Moscow, Soviet Russia in September 1942. **Joseph Barnes and Gardner Cowles Jr. were members of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City.** (AP Wirephoto)



The leading members of the Politburo (from left to right): Mikoyan, Nikita Khrushchev, Josef Stalin, Georgy Malenkov (Premier of the Soviet Union (1953-1955)), NKVD chief Lavrenti Beria, and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov.



Preeminent Soviet commissars appear in front of the deceased Josef Stalin in March 1953. From left to right: Vyacheslav Molotov, Voroshilov, Lavrenti Beria, Georgy Malenkov, Anastas Mikoyan, Lazar Kaganovich, Nikita Khrushchev, and Nikolai Bulganin.

“There was a time when I thought Stalin was better than Lenin and different from the way I see him today. It has taken me years to understand that he could have changed many things if he had wanted to, instead of aggravating the defects of Leninism. He could have preserved that centralised system but without the fanatical zeal to destroy the human personality. He could have exiled his opponents instead of sending them to rot in the camps. Actually, human life meant nothing to him, and he lacked Lenin's excuse of mental disorders. While he was alive I never immersed myself in his writings. Today I have his complete works and have read them three times. Stalin succeeded in formulating any idea simply and clearly: but it is that very schematism of his that frightens. He believed in Marxism with a fanaticism that was quasi-Islamic. He had transformed the idea of the encirclement of the USSR by the capitalist countries into an instrument of struggle against his own people. For a long time I wondered whether his behaviour was determined by features of his character or whether the system itself forced him to be like that. My impression is that the two factors combined. Without that personality of his Stalin would never have won out within the system. Trotsky, the archrevolutionary, failed not for ideological reasons but because he lacked the art of intrigue, and thought himself above that sort of thing. Lenin, however, had that art, and perhaps to a greater degree than Stalin. **Stalin was Satan incarnate. He did not just commit crimes in order to achieve his aims. He took a wicked pleasure in striking blows, in trampling on people, in destroying whatever resisted him. It gave him a sort of inward joy. I believe that he was perfectly aware of his wickedness – otherwise he would not have made an art of dissimulation and would not have striven systematically to appear different from what he was. Only a villain conscious of his villainy can pretend with such skill. And Stalin was a born actor.** It cannot be said, either, that through lack of intelligence he failed to understand the consequences of his actions. I met him several times towards the end of his life, and I was able to observe the facility with which he went straight to what was essential, even in technological spheres he knew nothing about. He had the gift of putting his finger on the weak points. An organiser of genius, he was able to create a service in a few minutes, give it a mission to perform, and obtain the result he wanted within the deadline fixed by him. In that he was better even than my father. It's astonishing, but I am unable to give a physical description of Stalin, although I saw him often! Like many Caucasians he had a way of moving with suppleness and grace. He stepped lightly. His face was expressive and mobile. He always locked himself in when he slept, but it would be wrong to put that down to cowardice. My father said that Stalin did not fear death. He simply did not want anyone to see him asleep and defenceless. When he was ill he concealed his weakness.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 133-134

Note: Sergo Beria is the son of Lavrenti Beria, head of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) during World War II

“He will be even more pitiless towards the Georgians than towards other peoples, because he is furious that his own people should oppose his policy. Resistance would irritate him less when it came from Russians.' My father shared this view. He too had believed that Stalin was attached to his homeland because he had opposed Lenin when the latter wanted to offer Georgia to Kemal Ataturk. But the evidence was clear. Stalin had ceased to love his little homeland, he had grown too big for it. His heart was given to Imperial Russia. He insistently stressed the continuity between the Russian state and the Soviet Union, going so far as to present the latter as the heir of Tsarist Russia. He saw himself in the lineage of Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great. One evening, at a dinner where there was plenty to drink, he allowed the actors who were present to sing in his honour the old Tsarist anthem. With his usual irony my father said that it would, nevertheless, be hard for Stalin to compete with the great Catherine II. 'She had herself screwed by Russian *muzhiks*, whereas Stalin has screwed all Russia.' Despite my devotion to and boundless admiration for my father, I have to say that I did not greatly enjoy that sort of joke. Actually, Stalin loved nobody. For Stalin the Russian people were merely a tool that enabled him to achieve his aims. It was by design and not through lack of intelligence or mere thoughtlessness that he reduced the peasantry to serfdom and deprived every Soviet citizen of all rights. But he did ostentatiously emphasise the priority of Russia and his reverence for Russian history. He chose traditional Russian names for his children. I remember a significant anecdote. Alexei Tolstoy, when working on his book about Peter the Great, explained to Stalin that he had found in the archives some documents which suggested that Peter's father was a Georgian king. Stalin's reaction was immediate. He replied that one could not imagine a worse service rendered to him than this allegation, and he forbade the writer to talk about it, even in private conversation. He later ordered my father to get hold of these archives and put them in a safe place, 'so that bootlickers like Tolstoy don't get the idea of using them.' Stalin followed attentively what was written about him, without, however, trying to hint to the writers what they should say. He was content to take note of their silly mistakes. In one of his books Tolstoy had described the arrival of Stalin at Tsaritsyn during the civil war. Stalin invited him, along with others, and said with an air of not alluding to him: 'There are good descriptions and there are others which make the hero look like an imbecile. I'll show you an example.' He went to his library, took Tolstoy's book and began to read a passage aloud. Tolstoy's portrait was so idyllic that it sounded artificial and Stalin commented that it would be better to write nothing than resort to such crude flattery. 'Stalin achieved two aims,' said my father, laughing. 'First, he showed, in public, that he rejected flattery. Second, he demonstrated that he could read aloud very well. And, as a bonus, he made Tolstoy lose his appetite.'” – *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 137

“For Stalin, his judgement of men had priority over every other consideration. 1949 was the year of the great turn. Stalin multiplied his blows against the old guard, dismissing Mikoyan, who was Minister of Trade and removing Molotov from Foreign Affairs. The purges carried out in the peoples' democracies struck at people linked with my father. Anna Pauker and Slansky belonged to the Jewish group. Vannikov, too, was worried, fearing that the wave of accusations might reach him again. As a Jew and a protege of Beria's he had everything to fear. My father explained to me the purges in the Army, the Leningrad affair and the anti-Semitic campaigns as being Stalin's desire to liquidate all potential opposition, by getting rid of elites and intellectuals who might take the lead in such an opposition. Relations between my father and Stalin now worsened permanently. For my father, anti-Semitism opened the way for Russian chauvinism and national socialism. Before the war there was no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. It was created by the country's rulers shortly after the victory, the authorities feeling sure that it would immediately meet with the approval of the masses. As I have said, my father did not believe that Stalin was anti-Semitic, even after his struggle against Trotskyism. He had many Jewish friends and mistresses. In 1947 he sent Kaganovich to the Ukraine because of the virulent anti-Semitism which had developed there and which risked discrediting the USSR, whereas Khrushchev encouraged these anti-Semitic tendencies in the Party in the Ukraine. Calculation governed all of Stalin's actions. He realised that the Jews were needed in that period. Mekhlis was for a long time his personal secretary, and became editor of *Pravda* before being given charge of propaganda in the Army and, finally, charge of State Control. Stalin kept him close to himself and retained his services for years. Stalin could, by nature, have been a Georgian nationalist, but he chose internationalism. If he had been Russian he would never have permitted anti-Semitism, which was one of the concessions he made to Russian nationalism.” – *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 211

“My father said that an attentive reading of Lenin's 'Political Testament' shows that he saw nobody but Stalin as fit to succeed him. Stalin described in my presence, the last months of Lenin's life. He suffered a great deal and often asked Stalin for poison. ‘When I saw him in that state I couldn't sleep at night,’ Stalin said, and I think he was sincere. The Politburo decided that everything must be done to prolong his existence, even though it was clear to everyone that his condition would not improve. Rumour had it that Lenin had fallen ill as the result of the dissolute life he had led during his studies in Petersburg. He had received treatment but had never managed to recover completely. He had retained an extreme irritability which he tried to overcome by means of physical exercises. Having said that, it may be that he was by nature, and not through illness, someone whose nerves were always on edge. **From Stalin I also learnt that Lenin hated the Church virulently.** Stalin was surprised at this: ‘Mikoyan and I wondered what the reason for this could be. In our case such a feeling would have been comprehensible – we were former seminarists. But, unlike with Lenin, our hostility to religion has nothing personal about it. Something must have happened in his life to make him so hostile to the Orthodox.’”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 136

“My father might have been dismissed in the spring of 1940 and though in the months that followed the danger retreated, he knew that his state of grace was provisional. He had understood that Stalin never forgot anything and that, one day, he would demand a reckoning for that affair. For the moment Stalin had other things on his mind. He was not sure that the great discontent caused among the people by the wave of repression had passed away. He knew that if he put Zhdanov or Malenkov at the head of the NKVD a new era of terror would begin. My father was, therefore, particularly useful to him. The second reason why my father was spared, and this is not to his honour, was the twelfth attempt on Trotsky's life. This attempt was being prepared and Stalin awaited the results. He was quite determined to get Trotsky out of the way, being convinced that he jeopardised the foreign policy of the USSR. My father tried to persuade him that Trotsky in exile presented no danger and was nothing but a 'political corpse' – not that he felt any sympathy with the man, whom he considered an extremist. I heard him explain to my mother that there was no such thing as Trotskyism: there was no difference between Trotskyist propaganda and ours, apart from the matter of 'building Socialism in one country taken separately.’ But Stalin would hear nothing of this. ‘Remember Spain. There we were not dealing with a "political corpse",’ he retorted. ‘In Spain it was the Anarchists, not the Trotskyists, who created our principal problem,’ my father objected, adding: ‘We observe every move Trotsky makes and have him under complete surveillance.’ NKVD had indeed penetrated the entire Trotskyist movement with its agents. As my father saw it, eliminating Trotsky would nullify his efforts. He thought that it would be a better idea to undertake Trotsky's support instead of letting him depend financially on the British, the Germans and the Americans. But Stalin persisted: ‘You underestimate the potential nuisance of Trotskyism.’ Eventually he summoned Sudoplatov and the other officers entrusted with the operation and himself supervised the preparations. He had not forgotten the objections raised by my father and preferred, in any case, to supervise personally anything that was especially important to him. At the time my father did not appreciate that Stalin had a personal grievance against Trotsky, and the motive for his fury was in no way political. Later, my father concluded that rancour was indeed the decisive factor in his determination to have Trotsky killed. I agree. **Stalin was capable of sacrificing a political interest for the mere pleasure of gratifying his thirst for vengeance. He never forgot people who had stood in his way.**”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 56

“Stalin intended to provide protection for the major centres of arms production – Chelyabinsk, Kharkov, Leningrad and Sverdlovsk. Moscow was, in any case, considered to be safe from a nuclear strike. **In 1952 the whole country was on a war footing. The objectives of the Central Committee were quite clear: we were preparing for the third world war and it would be a nuclear war.** All the country's resources were mobilised. We already had several squadrons of Tu-16 bombers. Myasishchev was working on an ultra-rapid bomber which could reach America and was better than the B-52. However, it had not yet been tested. At the end of 1952, Korolev was decorated for having created missiles with a range exceeding 1,000 kilometres. One has to remember that our forces were in Germany, so that all Europe was within our reach. Factories were getting ready to mass-produce intercontinental missiles that did not yet exist. As a general rule we began to mass-produce weapons before we had tested them. Stalin took this risk in order to gain time. Subsequently, Khrushchev needed only to utilise the bases created by Stalin in order to launch his 'strategic revolution,' which consisted of abandoning traditional weapons and stuffing the whole world with missiles. Our superiority in Europe was crushing. We could destroy all the American airfields in Europe and make nuclear strikes on any European country. Britain included. We possessed the primary elements of weapons capable of inflicting reprisals on the USA. The West's anti-aircraft defences consisted only of guns, radar and fighter planes, whereas at least 600 projectiles had to be fired in order to bring down a Tu-16. And our bombers flew at such a height that it was hard to intercept them. Our objective was to destroy communications between the United States and Europe. We could easily take command of the Mediterranean and, through our missile launching ramps in Bulgaria, ensure our control of the Straits. As we could no longer count on Tito we provided for special units to seize Trieste. And we must occupy Spain and Italy so as to prevent an American landing. In East Prussia and the GDR, where aviation fuel was already stockpiled, the superiority of our conventional weaponry was beyond doubt. **What, for Stalin, was essential was to take Germany, the only country in Europe he thought of as formidable. Elsewhere he did not expect much resistance from NATO.** Though still disarmed, Germany had an economic potential so dangerous that he preferred to destroy it. He summoned me on several occasions around May 1952 to ask if our missiles would be able to demolish the bridges over the Rhine or wipe off the map this or that industrial centre in Germany. We had nose-cones with infrared sights that were perfectly well adapted to that task. He wanted also to know if we could destroy the dykes of the river Ruhr. The British had thought of doing that during the Second World War, but had not attempted it. At this time our armament industries were working as in wartime. Our preparations clearly showed that what we had in mind was an offensive war.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 231-232

“Everything was ready. Stalin was on the point of playing the final chords of his symphony. The prospect of war did not make him recoil. As he saw it, best get on with it at once and have it over with. Perhaps he sensed that he had not much longer to live. Also, he thought that time was working in the West's favour, that the relation of forces was at this moment as favourable to the USSR as it could be. So he set himself to prepare, not public opinion but those close to him, by repeating to them that war was inevitable, and that the Americans would start it. He claimed to have documents that proved his assertions. There were indeed American plans for a preventive war. We used our knowledge of them to justify a preventive strike by ourselves. My father tried in vain to prove to Stalin that the Americans were not at all ready to go to war, even though we had mobilised them through the Korean War. When he was asked, one day, why he made so much of the perfidy of the Germans in violating the pact of August 1939, Stalin answered: 'It was important to me to emphasise that we were not the attackers.' He had not spared his efforts in that direction, for at that time the relation of strength was not in his favour. For the Third World War, likewise, public opinion had to be made to swing our way. He therefore decided to put everyone on the wrong scent by means of a series of initiatives. He was able to gull friends and enemies in the same way, seeing in this a manoeuvre and not perfidy. He proposed to organise elections in Germany and to resume international trade. He even authorised a conference on that theme, held in April 1952.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 233

“During a meeting, Stalin declared that he alone possessed the means to ensure that the Soviet Union won the war. When he was gone, victory would be inconceivable. Once we had the H-bomb the USA would think twice before provoking us. In the event of their risking it, we would reply with devastating strikes. Conquest of Europe would enable us to solve our economic problems without affecting the foundations of our system. Stalin even cited the precedent of Nazi Germany, which had considerably increased its economic potential by seizing Czechoslovakia and France. He had already thought out precise plans for exploiting the conquered countries. My father objected that, for this idea to work out, it would be as well for the countries concerned not to have suffered too much, for communications to have survived, and so on. He also sought to show that, even given military success, things would not necessarily turn out as foreseen, quoting the example of China, which possessed huge resources but would need many years of assistance from abroad in order to build an economy. Stalin planned to use Europe as a hostage, assuming that the Americans would not dare to drop atom bombs on the European continent. My father did not share that opinion. I was not present at these discussions but I heard echoes of them from Vannikov and Shtemenko. The latter told me that our invasion plans included Spain and Italy. They calculated how long it would take for our troops to reach these countries, allowing for the nuclear strikes forecast. The military potential of our allies in Central Europe would have to be utilised in the operation, and summit meetings were held at which the finishing touches were put to these plans. Shtemenko was delighted with the prospect of war, seeing himself already with a Marshal's baton. When my father learnt that he had talked to me about all that, he gave Shtemenko a sharp reprimand. Furthermore he forbade him to tell Stalin that we were militarily ready. 'And yet I've' already sent him reports to that effect,' the general said to me, very worried. I realised that this was a controversy that had been going on for some time. Not long after, my father had to send Shtemenko away in order to shelter him from Stalin's anger. A number of military men and Party leaders declared that we could win the war, provided that we got in a preventive strike and enjoyed the advantage of surprise. This theory was still in force under Khrushchev and Brezhnev. The commanders of the land army were especially bellicose. The naval officers were much more reasonable. They realised that our navy amounted to little compared with the American navy. They knew that they could not destroy NATO's communications otherwise than by landing operations and that they were not in a position to do much against the communications between Europe and the United States.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 234

“[Averell] Harriman had known my parents in Georgia in the twenties. At that time he owned a concession for mining manganese at Chiaturi. He told me how he had met my mother. He was accosted one day in a bank by a charming young woman who asked him to make a contribution to an organization which looked after orphans. He responded generously, not out of charity but because the young woman pleased him. One of his friends who was present warned him: 'Don't look at her too closely, she's the wife of a Chekist.' Some time later he was sent for by my father to discuss the concession. My father reminded him to observe 'the progressive laws' introduced by the Soviet Government and Harriman recalled my father's ironical expression as he uttered those words. 'I looked at him and wondered how this puny fellow could be the husband of that beauty,' he told me. My father saw Harriman again when he came to negotiate the release of an American woman who had been caught red-handed at spying. This release was to be effected by an exchange for Soviet agents arrested in the USA. Molotov, Stalin and others had loaded him with gifts – objects stuffed with microphones which were cleverly concealed by the laboratories of the NKVD. According to my father, who ridiculed 'this amateur who prides himself on knowing about intelligence work,'

Harriman concerned himself with foreign policy solely because his commercial interests were at stake. This active and enterprising aspect of the man pleased my father. Harriman wanted to win the Soviets' favour so as to do business with the USSR after the war. Again according to my father, the envoy of the British, Lord Beaverbrook, showed himself much readier than this American to respond to Soviet requests. Roosevelt's adviser [Harry] Hopkins was pro-Soviet well before he met Stalin and so it can't be claimed that he succumbed to Stalin's charm. My father considered that he was a perfectly honest man but that he understood absolutely nothing about the Soviet Union and cherished illusions on the subject. 'It's astonishing,' he said to me, 'This man is not an intellectual, and he can't see things as they are.' We knew that Hopkins had very great influence on Roosevelt, who paid more attention to his advisers than Churchill did to his, so that it was easier to influence the President through the men around him. Many of the disagreements between Roosevelt and Churchill were due to Hopkins' influence on the American President and to his pro-Sovietism. Vice President [Henry C.] Wallace was not a Soviet agent, either, but quite simply an imbecile. We succeeded in throwing dust in his eyes by presenting him with a spectacle of opulence during his stay in the USSR in May-June 1944. My father appointed Amaiak Kobulov to accompany him, calculating that they would get on well together. He was not mistaken. Wallace liked wine and women, passions that were shared by Kobulov, who became Wallace's best friend. Arm-in-arm, they made a very agreeable trip to Central Asia. But none of us expected that such a cretin could become President of the United States – it was already surprising that he was Vice President.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 100-101

Note: Sergo Beria is the son of Lavrenti Beria, head of the NKVD (Soviet secret police) during World War II

“Roosevelt said that the American people would not let him keep his forces in Europe much longer. In the presence of my father, who reported it to me, Stalin remarked that the weakness of the democracies lay in the fact that the people did not delegate permanent rights such as the Soviet government possessed. He took account of what Roosevelt had said in all his subsequent plans. The American president was very pleased to hear Stalin describe to him his plan for his operations in the war with Japan. He assured Roosevelt that Chinese territory would be liberated by the Soviet army and that the Americans had nothing to worry about on that score. Roosevelt told Churchill that Stalin had also prepared joint participation in a landing planned in the north of Japan, in Hokkaido if my memory is correct. Stalin declared his readiness to extend naval operations if circumstances were favourable and the United States thought it necessary. All this had been discussed with Churchill absent. Roosevelt gave Churchill a detailed account of the way Stalin had dwelt on the fact that he would be obliged, not without reticence, to violate the Soviet-Japanese Pact of April 1941, whereas Japan had scrupulously respected it. Roosevelt had even felt compelled to calm Stalin's scruples by recalling the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour. Stalin, however, observed that that attack had not been so unexpected as had been made out, and Roosevelt did not pursue the matter. Roosevelt also explained that he had been obliged to give in to Stalin on a number of points because he had shown himself so accommodating in matters concerning Japan.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 105

“When, in January 1943, Roosevelt decided to demand Germany's unconditional surrender, my father thought that this was a huge blunder, as the Germans' resistance would be galvanised by it. He thought, too, that the Morgenthau plan for the 'de-industrialisation' of Germany was an unreasonable act of vengeance by the Jews against the German people. He considered it to be all the more harmful because, at this time, he was counting on the German economy to serve as the engine for our own shortwinded economy. Nor did Stalin approve this plan. He did not want the German state destroyed, as he counted on setting it against the other capitalist states. Similarly, my father thought the idea of dismembering Germany was absolutely idiotic. A fragmented Germany would have but one idea - to be reunified. And that reunification would lead to another war. We must avoid inflicting national humiliation on the Germans. It was a mistake to have annexed East Prussia when it would have been enough to establish a military base there. The population transfers would be a source of future conflict. However, on the question of frontiers, the Party and the military were united. Only Admiral Kuznetsov shared my father's views. Generally speaking, my father would have preferred to go back to the frontiers of 1937, though he kept that opinion to himself. He hoped, it seems to me, that the arrangements made in 1945 would only be provisional.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 106-107

“My father had worked with Jewish intellectuals when he was a Chekist in Baku. I have already told how, in order to finance his service and the Soviet administration, he had sold two consignments of oil with the help of a young Jew who received, in return, a percentage of the gains and the right to emigrate to the United States. One of my father's close collaborators, the future Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Ukraine, Milshtein, was a Jew whom he had known in Georgia. His brother lived in the USA but often came illegally to the Soviet Union. **So my father had not needed war and fascism in order to learn how to make use of Jews. As he saw it, the country needed them. However, he did not encourage them to go into politics and occupy leading positions, lest this foster anti-Semitism. He had no sympathy for Zinoviev, Kamenev, Trotsky and the rest. He blamed them for their unscrupulous ambition, their pushiness and their tendency to judge people by their race rather than their ability. In politics he found the Jews to be opportunistic and he had no hope of openly seeking support among them. He did not blame the Jews for this, however, and explained their attitude by the centuries of persecution they had suffered. Provoked beyond endurance by Tsarist policy, the Jewish intelligentsia had favoured revolution and Socialism. Jews had formed the most aggressive wing of Bolshevism. For lack of a state of their own they wanted to establish Bolshevism all over the world. They had begun to change their attitude only after Trotsky had been sidelined. According to my father, Stalin was totally indifferent to individuals' nationalities, as he judged men in relation to the usefulness or the danger they could constitute. In his eyes a Jewish revolutionary was closer to Trotsky than to him, and this was what had made him so hostile to the Jews.** My father considered that the struggle against Trotskyism was utterly harmful. Very early he was appealing to the American Jews who had roots in the USSR. He wanted to use the Jewish lobby to incite the USA to enter the war, because only the influence of that lobby could shift America out of its isolationism. Its weight enabled Roosevelt to get round the neutrality laws. The British, who had reasoned in the same way, acted similarly. They had even begun before we did. During the war my father cherished the hope that the entire Jewish community throughout the world, with its scientists and its bankers, would work for the Soviet Union. He wanted not merely to obtain financial and military aid from the United States but also to create a network of ‘agents of influence’ and even of ordinary agents. **A great number of Jewish emigres worked for the USSR out of anti-fascism. Stalin authorised this policy. During the war my father initiated the creation of anti-fascist committees, including the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, which came into being in April-May 1942. The Jewish intellectual elite helped him to organise this committee, which was intended to form a permanent lobby that would mobilise Jewish capital, financial and political, throughout the world and influence American policy. The substantial sums that the Soviet Union received during the course of the war came to us thanks to the Jewish financial group that supported Roosevelt. [Henry] Morgenthau [Jr.] and [David] Lilienthal are the two names that I remember from this group. Lend-Lease and the provision of warships almost free of charge were benefits resulting from this lobby. These Jewish financiers were not necessarily pro-Communist, though there were Socialist-inclined elements among them: they simply wanted to see Germany destroyed.** My father and the Soviet government of the time were able to exploit that feeling thoroughly.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 108-109

“My father and Stalin thought that by helping the state of Israel to come into being they would ensure the support of international finance for the Soviet Union. They saw in this state a base from which to influence the world of Jewry, with all its financial resources, in the interest of the USSR. It mattered little to my father that the new state's leaders were not Communists, provided that they were useful to us. We should put our money on Israel and not on the Arab countries as we had resources enough. He tried to help the Jews to create their state, in the first instance with Stalin's approval. He succeeded in giving military aid to Israel. Stalin did not know everything and did not necessarily approve of everything that my father did in this connection, in a sphere where he could act discreetly and without asking for permission, by using his personal network of agents. In return the Jews gave him information about the Arab world. I have met Israelis who received military training in the Soviet Union, certainly with Stalin's approval. But Stalin later abandoned the Jewish policy advocated by my father, which he had supported at the outset. My father wanted to continue with it, believing that it might prove fruitful in the less immediate future.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 208

“Stalin had borne a grudge against Tito since the war. He did not forgive him for his links with the British, especially because they evaded Stalin's control. He constantly pestered my father on the subject: 'Tell me, what's Churchill's son doing at Tito's side? Why are the British helping him so much?' My father tried to make him understand that Tito was forced to appeal to the British since we were so unwilling to help. 'And you claim that he is one of us?' demanded Stalin. One day when Stalin repeated for the hundredth time that Tito was a British spy, my father could not hold back any longer and burst out: 'You're surely not going to say that you believe that story!' When Stalin openly asked Tito about his relations with the British, the Yugoslav leader replied sharply, defending his position. I asked my father about these connections. 'The British want to have him on their side,' he explained. 'Nothing surprising about that. Tito is a Communist, but he wants his country to remain independent. He practices a balancing policy, and he is right to do so. As for Stalin, he would agree with British aid for Tito, provided that everything went through Moscow.' Stalin was very much against my father when he advocated a joint Polish-Yugoslav operation in the direction of Austria. Stalin even proposed to Tito that he keep the King of Yugoslavia. 'With all your caprices, I'm beginning to wonder if that wouldn't be better for the Soviet Union ... You would be Prime Minister for life.' To the members of the Politburo he said, jokingly: 'With the King, life would be easier for me.' Tito became angry and replied that the Yugoslavs had not fought in order to go back to the monarchy. Whereupon Stalin treated the subject as a joke.” – *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 208-209

“Before the war my father was very interested in the Kuomintang, which tried to combine capitalism with elements of Socialism. The principles of its peasant policy seemed good to him, though their application left something to be desired because of a corrupt bureaucracy. The peasants supported this party and if the USSR had not helped the Communists the Kuomintang would have held on to power. That would have been better for China even though, in my father's view, Chiang Kai-shek was infinitely more dangerous to the Soviet Union than Mao was, not for political reasons but on account of his personality. Some men close to my father perished through their collaboration with the Kuomintang. I am thinking of the Georgian Lominadze, who did much to help the Chinese nationalists. He was recalled to the USSR and Stalin blamed him for our failure in China. My father tried to defend him, recalling that Chiang Kai-shek had studied in the USSR. It was enough, indeed, to remember the precedent set by the Georgians who, in Tsarist times, had lived in Moscow and returned home violently anti-Russian, to understand that our disappointments in China should not be imputed to Lominadze alone. Through his agents my father knew a lot about the Chinese leader and his family. We gave up our attempt to reach an understanding with Chiang when we realised the extent to which he was controlled by the Americans, especially through his wife. In Europe one could leave the bourgeois governments in place. In Asia, American influence was so strong that if Chiang Kai-shek won in China, the USSR would have no means of penetrating the region, since the Kuomintang ruled monopolistically. After the war my father and Malenkov, considering that China was a potential ally of substantial weight against America, had concluded that we should cast aside the Kuomintang. Instead, we should give far-reaching aid to the Chinese Communists, satisfy all their demands, strengthen China's economy and use China against the United States and Japan. My father once said to me that if China and Japan came together, Japanese technology and organisation combined with the gigantic human potential represented by China could constitute an irresistible power. My father wanted the closest possible economic and political bonds with China to be restored. I found it hard to understand why the Americans abandoned Chiang Kai-shek and allowed Mao to take power. The British would never have allowed such a thing to happen, I thought. I asked my father to explain. 'The Americans think like merchants,' he said. 'They believed that Mao was no worse for them than Chiang Kai-shek. As for Mao, he is an opportunist who has sided with the Soviet Union because he needs our help. But as soon as he has obtained what he wants he will turn his back on us and go over to the Western side.' I was scandalised. Mao enjoyed immense prestige among the Soviet people. He had behind him a country with a billion inhabitants!”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 219-220

“When, in 1949, we acquired the bomb, this was far from calming Stalin. On the contrary, it convinced him that everything was henceforth permitted to him and we would soon be able to go over to the attack. Realising that our totalitarian system had the advantage over the democracies in that it could quickly concentrate the maximum of resources in a chosen sector, he wanted to use this provisional superiority to achieve a definitive success, on not only the European but the world scale. The operation to reunify Korea, which was launched in June 1950, had been planned with the North Koreans and the Chinese. It is claimed nowadays that the initiative for it came from Kim Il-sung, but this is quite mistaken. The North Koreans were so weak economically and so poor, their only ambition was to keep what they had. Kim was a cipher that we used. He put into effect the policy decided by Stalin, who sent for him and indicated what his duty was. As ever, Stalin did not do this directly: he never acted 'barefaced.' After Kim's visit to Moscow in the spring of 1950 I remember hearing my father say ironically: 'All that we needed was a big war in the Far East.' He did not believe that this conflict would stay localised. He did not want this war – not for humanitarian reasons, of course, but because he feared that it would unite the West. In 1949 the USSR and China had trained a large number of North Korean officers, and not just senior ranks. Vasilevsky told me that he himself drew up the plan for aggression against South Korea. After the initial successes, the General Staff and our intelligence services warned Stalin that conquest of all Korea should be avoided, as otherwise a Western counter-attack would not be long in coming. But Stalin did not want to listen, so that he was obliged to call on Mao to come to the rescue of the North Koreans. He did not yet feel ready for a world war and wanted to gain time for putting the final touches to his preparations. Therefore it seemed to him preferable to make use of the Chinese.”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 223

“Khrushchev quickly made some of my father's ideas his own, only a few months after denouncing them as proofs of treason. He became reconciled with Yugoslavia in 1955, and had the cheek to attribute the break to my father! Tito ticked him off, saying that Khrushchev must not take him for a fool. The Yugoslavs knew quite well who had attacked them, and it wasn't Beria. In February 1956, at the 20th Party Congress, Khrushchev denounced Stalin's crimes, but did this selectively, so as to strengthen his position by exculpating the Bolshevik Party and Lenin, though the blemishes of Bolshevism had been apparent even before the October Revolution. **Khrushchev was really a Stalinist through and through – it is enough to look at his agricultural policy to realise that. He also pursued a policy of detente with the West, but, again, was content with half measures. Though confrontation diminished in his reign, he did not hesitate to provoke grave crises, as in Berlin in 1959 and in Cuba in 1962. And let's not forget the Berlin Wall, built under Khrushchev in 1961.**”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 276

“**Among Stalin's successors the only one who was not an idiot was [Yuri] Andropov but he was cruel. Like Stalin he wrote verses, and, like Stalin, he was wicked.** At the time of the Hungarian rebellion in 1956 he was Soviet ambassador in Budapest. Molotov had recommended him for this post, being convinced that any Party functionary made a good diplomat. He took an active part in the repression. At Sverdlovsk I met military men who had participated in the crushing of the rebellion. One of them told me that Andropov had given the order for the tanks to charge the crowd. Some tank crews refused to obey this order and were shot on the spot. Recalcitrant officers of higher rank were shot in the embassy courtyard, in Andropov's presence. The officer who told me escaped the same fate because he had a nervous breakdown and was declared to be not responsible for his actions.” – *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 277

“**“There are two dominant forces in man: love and national feeling,’ he [Lavrenti Beria] said to me. Any attempt to eradicate them would be a grave mistake. One should, on the contrary, base oneself on them. ‘People fought in the war not for ideas but because their country and their nearest and dearest were threatened.’** Britain devoted centuries to subduing Ireland, and Russia did the same with Caucasia, even if Bolshevism effectively destroyed the national element. (My father [Lavrenti Beria] could not foresee that the Caucasian peoples were going to be ravaged by drugs.) **The social order is founded on the family. If the family is in a bad way, the state will feel the consequences. Traditions and virtues are transmitted by the family; the school passes on knowledge only.** ‘We should imitate the English educational system. They don't fill a child's head with concrete items of knowledge before the age of ten or twelve. They try to develop first his capacity for comprehension and his physical and moral powers. Only after that do they inculcate learning.’”

– *Beria, My Father: Inside Stalin's Kremlin* by Sergo Beria, p. 294



Josef Stalin's dacha (summer house) in Sochi, Russia



Josef Stalin's dacha (summer house) in Sochi, Russia



Josef Stalin's dacha (summer house) in Sochi, Russia

(Photo: <http://homes.yahoo.com/blogs/spaces/an-unsettling-tour-of-stalin-s-sochi-dacha--his-favorite-retreat-043524431.html>)



Josef Stalin's dacha (summer house) in Sochi, Russia

1917: Year of the Snake

Bolshevik Revolution, Balfour Declaration, & World War I



Photograph of a Federal Reserve Board meeting in circa 1917. Clockwise, beginning from left: William G. McAdoo (Secretary of the Treasury), John Skelton Williams (Comptroller of the Currency), Adolph C. Miller, Frederic A. Delano, unknown, W.P.G. Harding (Governor of the Federal Reserve), Paul Warburg (Vice Governor of the Federal Reserve), and Charles S. Hamlin. Frederic A. Delano's nephew Franklin Delano Roosevelt was the Assistant Secretary of the Navy from 1913 to 1920; Frederic A. Delano's father (and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's grandfather) Warren Delano Jr. was a partner of Russell & Company opium syndicate and a wealthy drug dealer. (Photo: Harris & Ewing Collection/Library of Congress)



Russian soldiers demonstrate in the streets of Petrograd, Russia in February 1917. Czar Nicholas II of Russia abdicated his throne on March 15, 1917. Czar Nicholas II and his family were assassinated by the Bolsheviks [Communists] in Russia on July 17, 1918.



British troops enter Baghdad, the capital of present-day Iraq (formerly Babylon), on March 11, 1917.

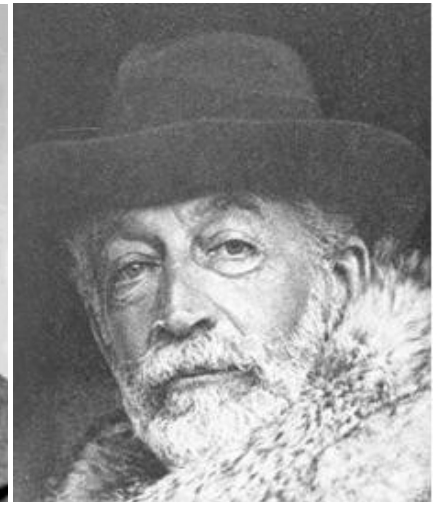
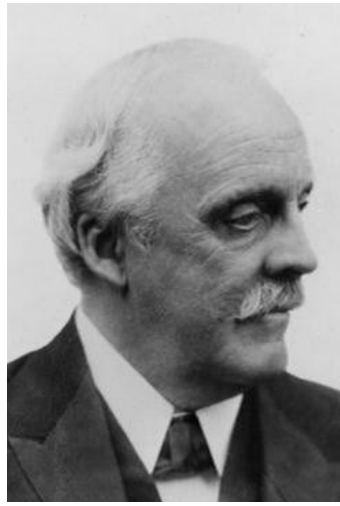
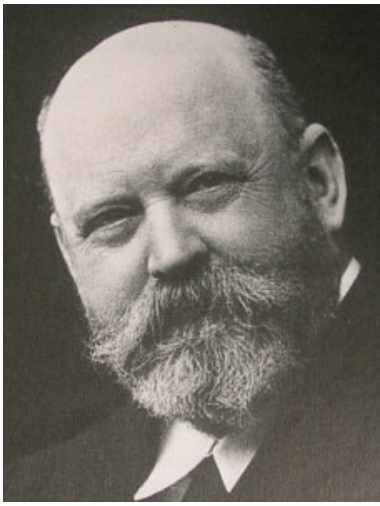


British Field Marshal Edmund Allenby enters Jerusalem on December 11, 1917, after capturing the city from the Ottoman Turks. The Ottoman Empire administered Jerusalem from 1517 to 1917.



T.E. Lawrence (front row, third from right), Prince Feisal (front row, third from left), and others pose after capturing Aqaba in July 1917. Prince Feisal served as the King of Iraq from August 23, 1921 until his death on September 8, 1933.

(Photo: <http://www.mixedmartialarts.com/mma.cfm?go=forum.posts&forum=2&thread=2051026&page=4>)



The Architects of Modern Israel, left to right: Lionel Walter Rothschild, Arthur Balfour, Chaim Weizmann, and Edmond de Rothschild

Lord Arthur Balfour was the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom of Great Britain from 1916 to 1919; Balfour was the Prime Minister of Great Britain from 1902 to 1905. Lord Walter Rothschild was a supporter of a Jewish homeland in the Holy Land. Arthur Balfour, Lord Alfred Milner, Jan Christian Smuts, Philip Kerr, Leo Amery, and William G.A. Ormsby-Gore were members of the Milner Group (also known as the Round Table Group).

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (Balfour's Letter to Lord Rothschild)

Foreign Office

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour

Dear Mr. Balfour

There was one point I forgot to mention on Friday and I think you might draw the Prime Minister's attention to this; during the last few weeks the official and semi-official German newspapers have been making many statements, all to the effect that in the Peace Negotiations the Central Powers must make a condition for Palestine to be a Jewish settlement under German protection. I therefore think it important that the British declaration should forestall any such move. If you, as you promised, can arrange the interview I suggested please let Dr. Weizmann know as I am going away for a few days on some special business and Dr. Weizmann can get at me quicker than if the message is sent to me direct as there will be no responsible person at Tring as my mother is away also.

Yours sincerely,
ROTHSCHILD

Source: *Rothschild: The Wealth and Power of a Dynasty* by Derek Wilson, p. 341

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Y. L.
Arthur Balfour



Australian infantrymen wear gas masks at Ypres, Belgium during the Third Battle of Ypres in September 1917.

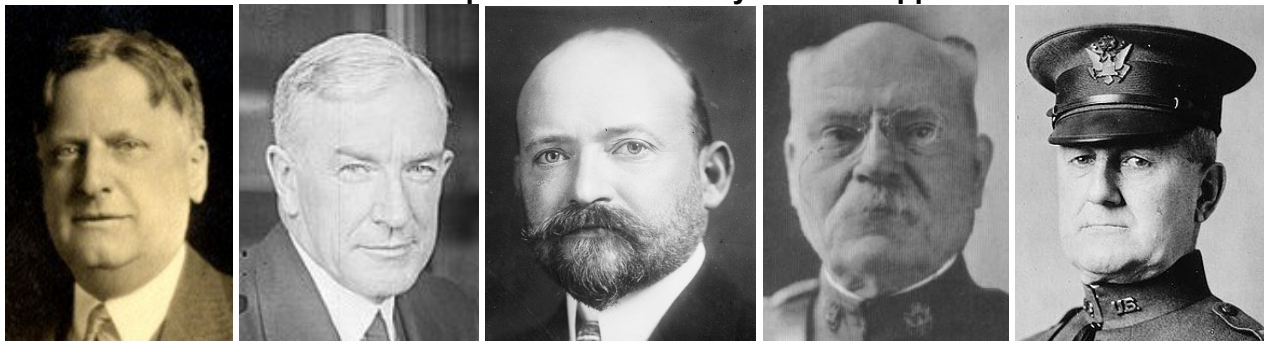


Robert Scott Lovett (left), a railroad baron for the Union Pacific Railroad Co., walks with Daniel Willard (right), President of Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Co., in 1917. Robert Scott Lovett was the Chairman of the board of Union Pacific Railroad Company from 1920 until his death in 1932; Robert Scott Lovett was the father of former Secretary of Defense Robert Abercrombie Lovett. Daniel Willard was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Harris & Ewing Collection/[Library of Congress](#))



Members of the American Red Cross Emergency Financial Committee meet together in 1917. From left to right: Frank B. Hayne, Henry P. Davison (Chairman), Cornelius N. Bliss, Jr., Richard F. Grant, Eliot Wadsworth, and Charles D. Norton. Eliot Wadsworth and Charles D. Norton were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Henry P. Davison was a partner of J.P. Morgan & Co. Charles D. Norton was the Vice President of First National Bank of New York from 1911 to 1918. (Photo: Harris & Ewing Collection/[Library of Congress](#))

Prominent American Diplomats and Military Officers Appointed in 1917



Left to right: Roland S. Morris, Henry P. Fletcher, John W. Garrett, Gen. Tasker Bliss, and Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord. All five men were members of the Council on Foreign Relations during the 1920s and 1930s.

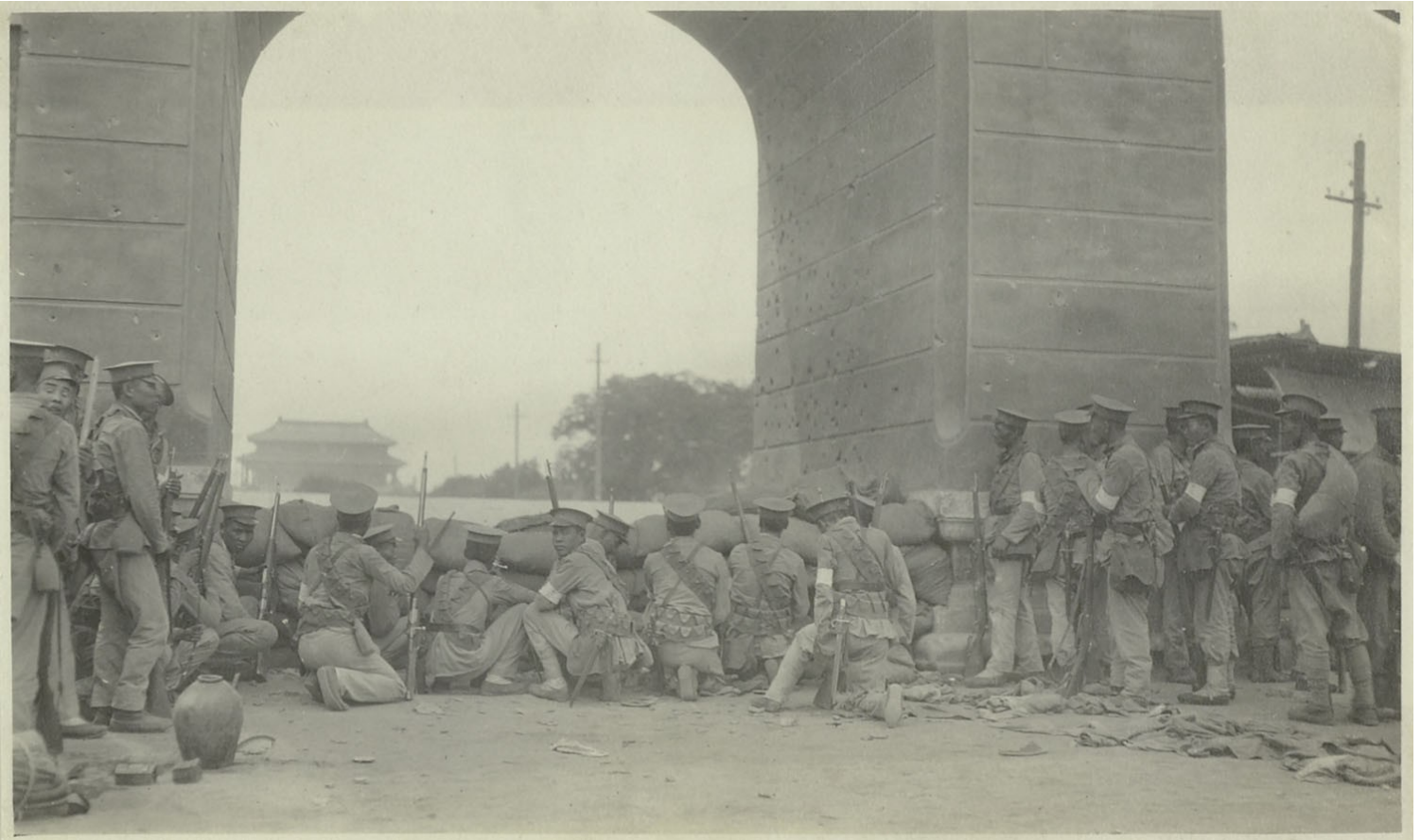
Roland S. Morris – U.S. Ambassador to Japan (October 30, 1917-May 15, 1920)

Henry P. Fletcher – U.S. Ambassador to Mexico (March 3, 1917-January 25, 1919)

John W. Garrett – U.S. Minister to the Netherlands (October 11, 1917-June 18, 1919)

Gen. Tasker H. Bliss – Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army (September 22, 1917-May 18, 1918)

Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord – Chief of Staff of American Expeditionary Force in France (May 15, 1917-May 6, 1918, May 1919-June 1921)



Chinese Republican soldiers besiege the gates of the Forbidden City in Peking, China in July 1917 during the failed recovery of the Manchu dynasty.



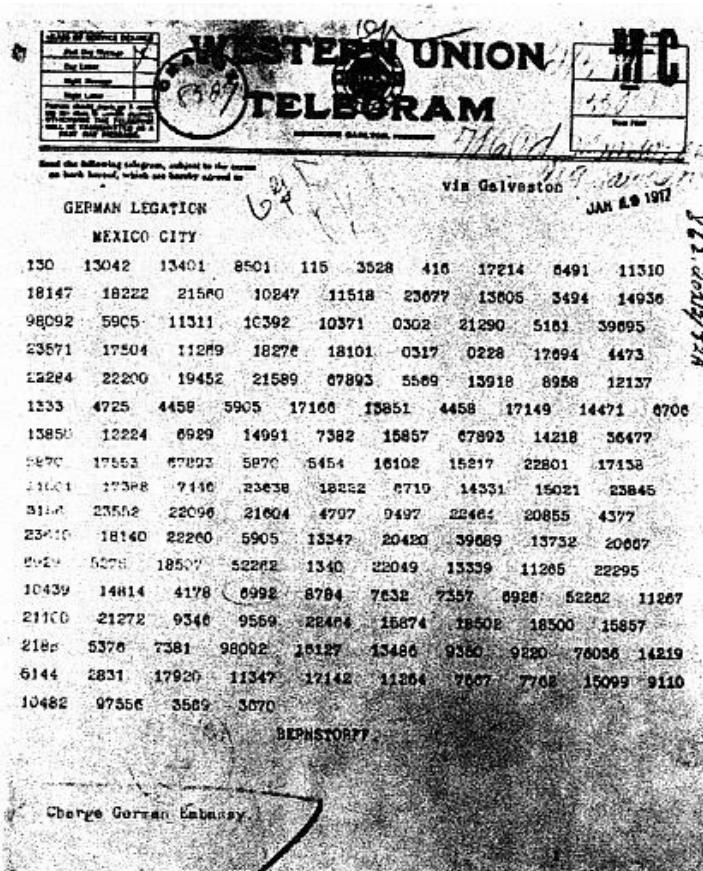
European soldiers appear in Peking in July 1917 during a failed attempt to restore the Manchu dynasty.



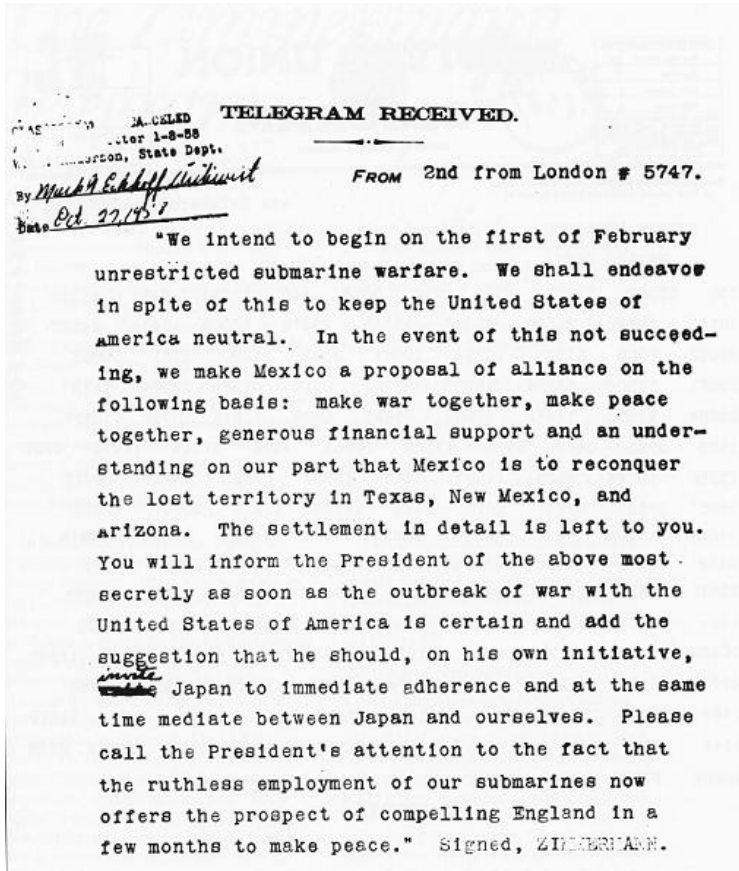
Robert Lansing (left), the U.S. Secretary of State, chats with John W. Davis (right), Solicitor General of the United States, in 1917. (Photo: Library of Congress)



Japanese special envoy Viscount Kikujirō Ishii (left), appears with U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing in Washington, D.C. on November 2, 1917 for the signing of the Lansing-Ishii Agreement. (Photo: Library of Congress)



Left: The Zimmermann Telegram as it was sent from Washington, D.C. to Mexico in 1917.



Right: The Zimmermann Telegram, completely decrypted and translated. The message came as a coded telegram dispatched by the German Foreign Secretary Arthur Zimmermann on January 16, 1917, to the German Ambassador to America Johann von Bernstorff. President Woodrow Wilson received a copy of the Zimmermann Telegram in February 1917. Mexico's President Venustiano Carranza declined the German diplomatic offer described in the Zimmermann Telegram on April 14, 1917.



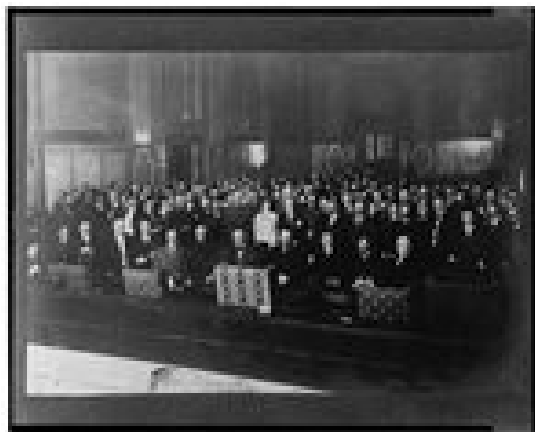
Left photo: Arthur Zimmermann (October 5, 1864-June 6, 1940) was State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the German Empire from November 22, 1916 until his resignation on August 6, 1917. Zimmermann approved of Russian Communist terrorist Vladimir Lenin's secret train ride from Switzerland to Russia via Germany (including Berlin).



Right photo: Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg (November 29, 1856-January 1, 1921) was a German politician and statesman who served as Chancellor of the German Empire from July 14, 1909 to July 13, 1917.



Comrade Lenin visits Stockholm, Sweden in 1917. Russian Communist terrorist Vladimir Lenin (right, holding an umbrella) takes a stroll in the streets of Stockholm, Sweden on April 13, 1917 [March 31, 1917 Russian [Julian] calendar]. Lenin and his comrades departed Zurich, Switzerland aboard a train on April 6, 1917. The Imperial German government escorted Lenin his comrades aboard a “sealed” train from the Swiss-German border to Berlin and later from Berlin to the Baltic Sea. Lenin met with his German “sponsors” (German intelligent agents) in Berlin and apparently received money before returning to Petrograd to establish a Communist regime in Russia. (Photo: <http://www.cddc.vt.edu/marxists/archive/lenin/media/image/1917.htm>)



Members of President Woodrow Wilson’s Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia in 1917 pose for a group portrait. Members of the Mission standing among those in the front row are, from left to right: Charles Edward Russell, U.S. Army General Hugh Lenox Scott, David Rowland Francis, and Elihu Root; to the right of Root is Leon Trotsky, and standing behind Root, a little to the right, at the front of the crowded room, is Vladimir Lenin. (Photo: [Library of Congress](http://www.libraryofcongress.gov))



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ELIHU ROOT AS CHIEF OF THE RUSSIAN MISSION, 1917, AT MOGHILEV, RUSSIA

(Left to right) Tereschenko, Minister of Foreign Affairs; General Brusiloff, Commander-in-chief of the Russian armies; Elihu Root; General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, U. S. A.

Elihu Root was the President of Carnegie Endowment for International Peace from 1910 to 1925. Samuel R. Bertron (S&B 1885) [somewhere in the rear of the photo] was a member of the Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia [also known as the Root Mission] in 1917.



The National City branch at Petrograd, 1917.

Left photo: Leon Trotsky (real name Lev Davidovich Bronstein) arrives in Petrograd [St. Petersburg], Russia on May 4, 1917.
Right photo: The National City Bank branch at Petrograd, Russia in 1917.



Female Russian textile workers call for bread during an International Workers' Day march in Petrograd, Russia (present-day St. Petersburg) in March 1917.



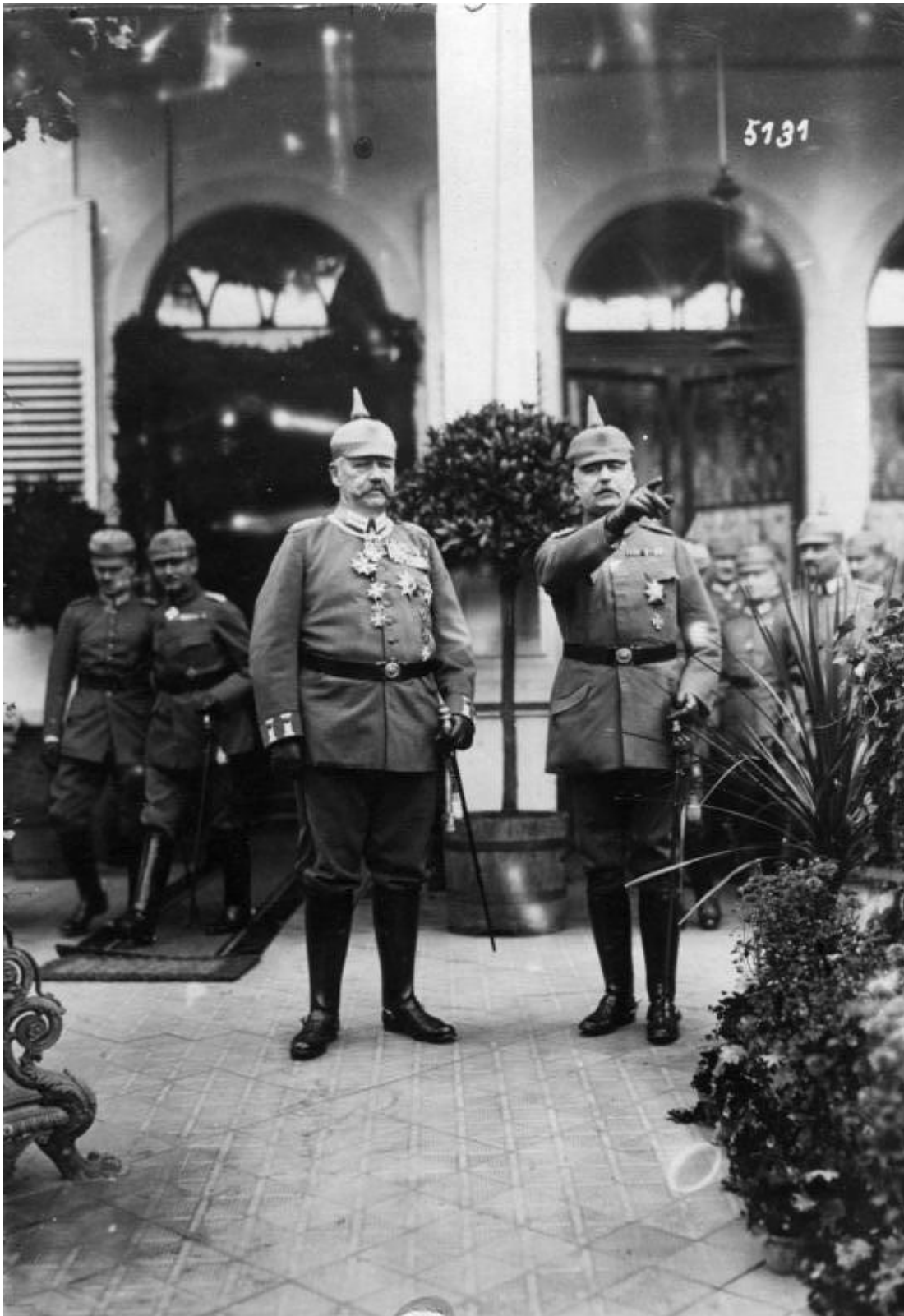
Russian soldiers ride through the streets of Petrograd, Russia on March 11-12, 1917, days before Czar Nicholas II of Russia abdicates and leaves the city.



Russian government troops fire upon demonstrators at the corner of Nevsky Prospect and Sadovaya Street in St. Petersburg, Russia on July 4, 1917. (Gelatin Silver Print)



Czar Nicholas II of Russia poses for a photograph while in detention after his abdication on March 15, 1917.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 146-1987-127-08A
Foto: o. Ang. | 1917

Imperial German Army Gen. Paul von Hindenburg (center) appears with General Erich Ludendorff (right) in 1917.
(Photo: German Federal Archives)



Left to right: General Paul von Hindenburg, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany, and General Erich Ludendorff review battle plans at the German General Headquarters in 1917. (Photo: [Wikipedia](#))

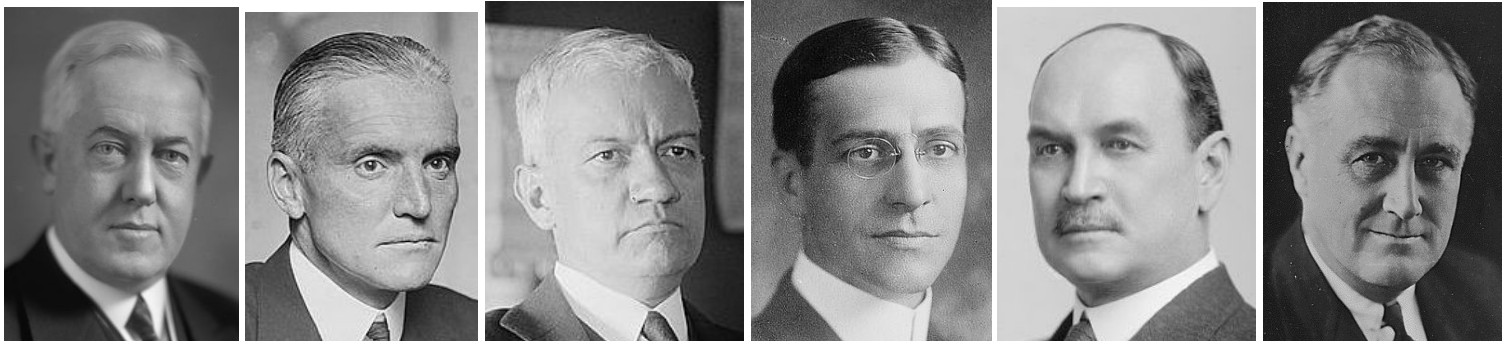


German officers escort Russian Jewish Communist terrorist Leon Trotsky (center) at a train station in Brest-Litvosk on December 27, 1917 as Leon Trotsky and his Russian delegates prepare to attend the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference. (Photo: CORBIS)



The Signing of Russian War Loan in 1917. Shown: Constantine Onou, Russian Embassy; Frank L. Polk; Serge Ughet, Russian Embassy; Secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo (seated, second from left), and Under Secretary of State Frank L. Polk (seated, second from right). Frank L. Polk graduated from Yale University; Frank L. Polk was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: National Photo Company Collection/Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/npc2008011467/?sid=17edd1dbb1d8ad09f943a6c3948dc8b1>



Prominent American government officials in the Woodrow Wilson Administration in 1917, left to right: John W. Davis, Solicitor General of the U.S. (1913-1918); Frank L. Polk, Counselor of the State Department (1915-1919); Russell C. Leffingwell, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (1917-1920); Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War (1916-1921); David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture (1913-1920); and Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy (1913-1920). All men except for Roosevelt were members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur Balfour (left) appears with U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing (right) in 1917.
(Photo: Harris & Ewing Collection/[Library of Congress](#))



American State Department officials await the arrival of British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur James Balfour (Head of the British Commission to the United States) at a train station in Washington, D.C. in 1917. British Ambassador to America Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice, U.S. Secretary of State Robert Lansing (2nd left), Frank L. Polk (2nd right, gesturing with left finger), and William Phillips (right) are dressed in standard diplomatic attire, including the black top hat. Sir Cecil Arthur Spring-Rice served as British Ambassador to the United States from 1912 to 1918; Spring-Rice died in Ottawa, Canada on February 14, 1918. (Photo: [Library of Congress](#))



British Foreign Secretary Lord Arthur Balfour (left, holding his hat) appears with American envoy Hugh Gibson (right, smiling) in New York in 1917. (Photo: George Grantham Bain Collection/[Library of Congress](#))



MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE MISSION, NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1917

The House Mission group portrait: “Colonel” Edward Mandell House (front row, center, wearing a diplomatic top hat) and his entourage pose for a group portrait in London in November-December 1917. Edward Mandell House met and dined with British Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Arthur Balfour, Lord Alfred Milner, Lord Robert Cecil, William Wiseman, King George V of Great Britain, Lord George Curzon, and Gen. Jan Christian Smuts while visiting London in 1917.

(Photo: *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* by Charles Seymour, Volume 3 (Into the World War))

“Balfour invited Weizmann to participate in the process of drafting an appropriate document. It was what Weizmann and Sykes had sought all along. The process of drafting the appropriate language, and deciding to whom it should be addressed, went on through the summer until September, when Milner and Leo Amery took charge of it. Almost all the governmental figures who mattered were disposed favorably toward the proposed declaration. Sykes, fortified by Ormsby-Gore, had converted the War Cabinet secretariat to Zionism. Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, had long sympathized with Zionism and now believed that Britain should go on record in its favor; and within his own department he was pushed forward in this by Cecil and Graham. Smuts was deeply pro-Zionist. Milner and his set, including Philip Kerr of the Prime Minister’s secretariat, had come to view the establishment of a Jewish Palestine as a vital British imperial interest. The Prime Minister had always planned to carry through a Zionist program; and while he did not express an interest in declaring Britain’s intentions in advance, neither did he place any obstacle in the way of his government’s doing so once his colleagues thought it useful.”

A Peace to End All Peace, Creating the Modern Middle East, 1914-1922 by David Fromkin, p. 293-294

(Note: David Fromkin is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.)

Arthur J. Balfour's Letter to "Colonel" Edward M. House

From *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House* by Charles Seymour, Volume 3 (Into the World War), p. 190-193

Mr. A.J. Balfour to Colonel House

[Cablegram]

LONDON, October 11, 1917

I would be grateful if you will allow me to put before you the following facts with regard to the shipping situation, for your very careful attention:

In the first two and a half years of the war the total reduction of tonnage in the world due to the enemy's activities amounted to approximately four and a half million tons. Seven months of ruthless submarine warfare increased the above reduction by an additional four and a quarter million tons.

If to the average rate of destruction of shipping during this intensive campaign is added the decrease of tonnage caused, firstly, by the incapacitation of ships which are badly damaged without being a total loss, and secondly, by ordinary misadventures at sea, it is permissible to estimate the total reduction in the tonnage of the world during a year as in the neighbourhood of eight million tons...

To offset this reduction England, who last year reduced shipbuilding to the production of about six hundred thousand tons in order to direct her energies into other channels, is now bending every effort to construct two and a half million tons next year, though it is to be feared that it will not be possible to fully reach this figure.

If the present rate of destruction is maintained Great Britain's production of shipping added to that of the rest of the world excepting America will yet leave a minimum yearly deficit of five and a half million tons.

The situation is rendered more serious by the fact, well known to you, that, without taking into consideration future losses, available tonnage is far from sufficient to fill the civilian and military needs of the Allies.

Tonnage conditions will be the deciding factor in the extent of spring operations in every theatre of war.

England now considers it important to clearly state that she sees no possibility of carrying on her military and naval part in the war, transporting civilian and military supplies in British bottoms and continuing to furnish her Allies with as many ships as in the past.

The present great need for coal and food in Italy and France will become more serious in the spring.

British ships will also be lacking to furnish the supplies which Russia may want during the season next year when the port of Archangel is open.

At the same time, America will be confronted by the great problems presented by the transportation of her forces and the supplies for them.

In view of all the above circumstances, I suggest for your consideration the possibility of the adoption by the United States of plans for the construction of sufficient tonnage to offset the loss by submarine attack at the present rate. This would mean the construction of approximately six million tons per annum.

The effort that such a programme implies is enormous, but you will recollect that if England is unable to adopt such a programme it is because her energies are committed in those other directions into which they were turned, in common with those of her Allies, in the early days of the war under the immediate necessity of providing for increasing armies and navies and the munitions for both. Less effort than that thus expended would have sufficed to produce more ships than submarines destroy, even when most active. It was not until 1916 that the mercantile marine became as important as armies, navies, and munitions.

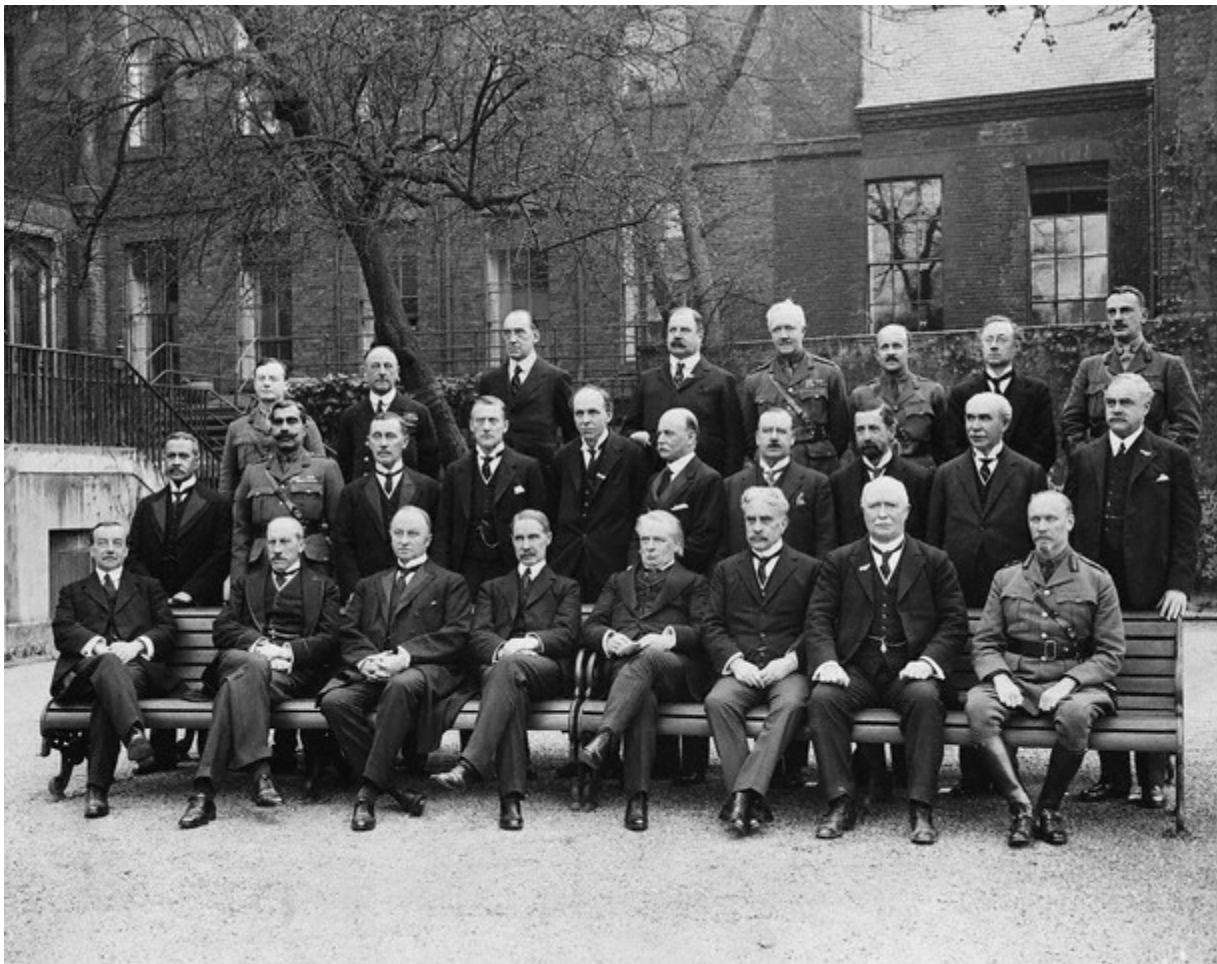
America, with resources of industry and engineering superior to those of any other country, joined the war at this stage. The expenditure of strength necessary to nullify the loss of shipping, though very great, is relatively less than that made by the Allies with success to meet other emergencies. The programme outlined above means the employment of three and a half million tons of steel, which is not even ten per cent of the production of the United States, and the work of half a million men, only a minority of whom need be skilled workmen.

Even before any ships were launched, the definite adoption and vigorous prosecution of a scheme such as the one outlined would in all probability affect the enemy's hopes and, consequently, his powers of endurance in an entirely disproportionate manner. Such a programme would, of course, not provide the requisite number of bottoms by next spring, but the very fact that they were under construction would permit of freer use of those available and would be of invaluable help to tide over the critical time coming before the harvests of 1918.

Although in the last few weeks the loss of tonnage has been greatly reduced, it is not yet certain that this diminution will be sustained and it consequently would be most imprudent to take this improvement into consideration as a factor in calculations looking to the adoption of a permanent policy. I cannot, therefore, lay too great a stress on the grave possibility that the superior efforts being made by all the Allies in various other directions may be set at naught by inadequate provision for making good the loss of tonnage.

It is of paramount importance that adequate arrangements should be made for provisioning and transporting the powerful army America is preparing, without reducing the tonnage now devoted to supplying the Allied forces already engaged, lest such reduction should weaken them in the same proportion that the American army will strengthen them.

BALFOUR

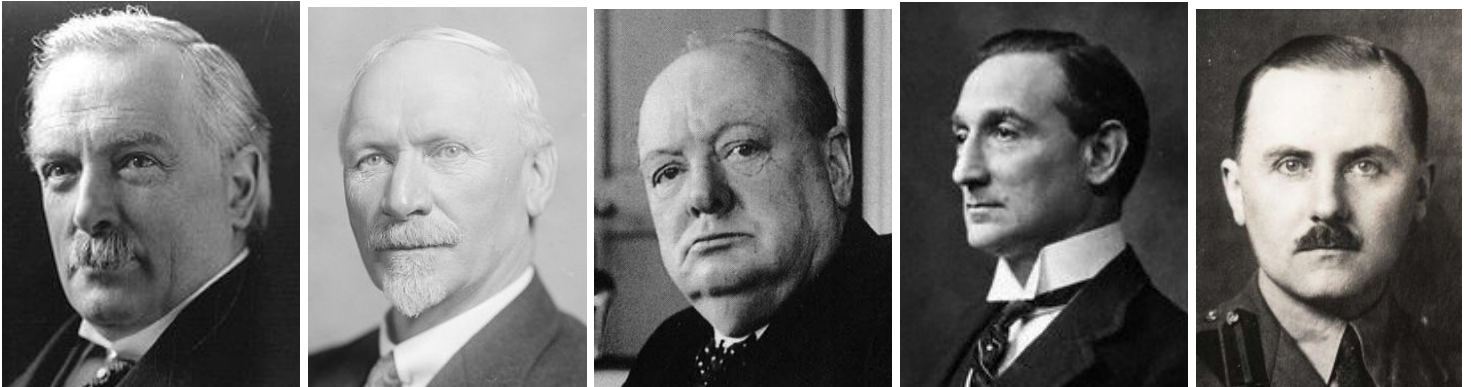


The Imperial War Cabinet of 1917 Group Portrait in London in 1917. Front row, left to right: Mr. Arthur Henderson, Lord Milner, Lord Curzon, Mr. Bonar Law, Prime Minister David Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden, Mr. W. F. Massey, Gen. Jan Christian Smuts. Middle row, left to right: Sir S.P. Sinha, Maharaja of Bikaner, Sir J. Meston, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Walter Long, Sir Joseph Ward, Sir George Parley, Mr. Robert Rogers, Mr J.D. Hazen. Back row: Capt. L.S. Amery, Adm. Jellicoe, Lt. Col. Sir Maurice Hankey, Mr. Henry Lambert, and Major Storr. (Image: © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)

British Statesmen during World War I



Lord Walter Rothschild, Lord Arthur J. Balfour, Lord George Nathaniel Curzon, Lord Alfred Milner, Lord Robert Cecil



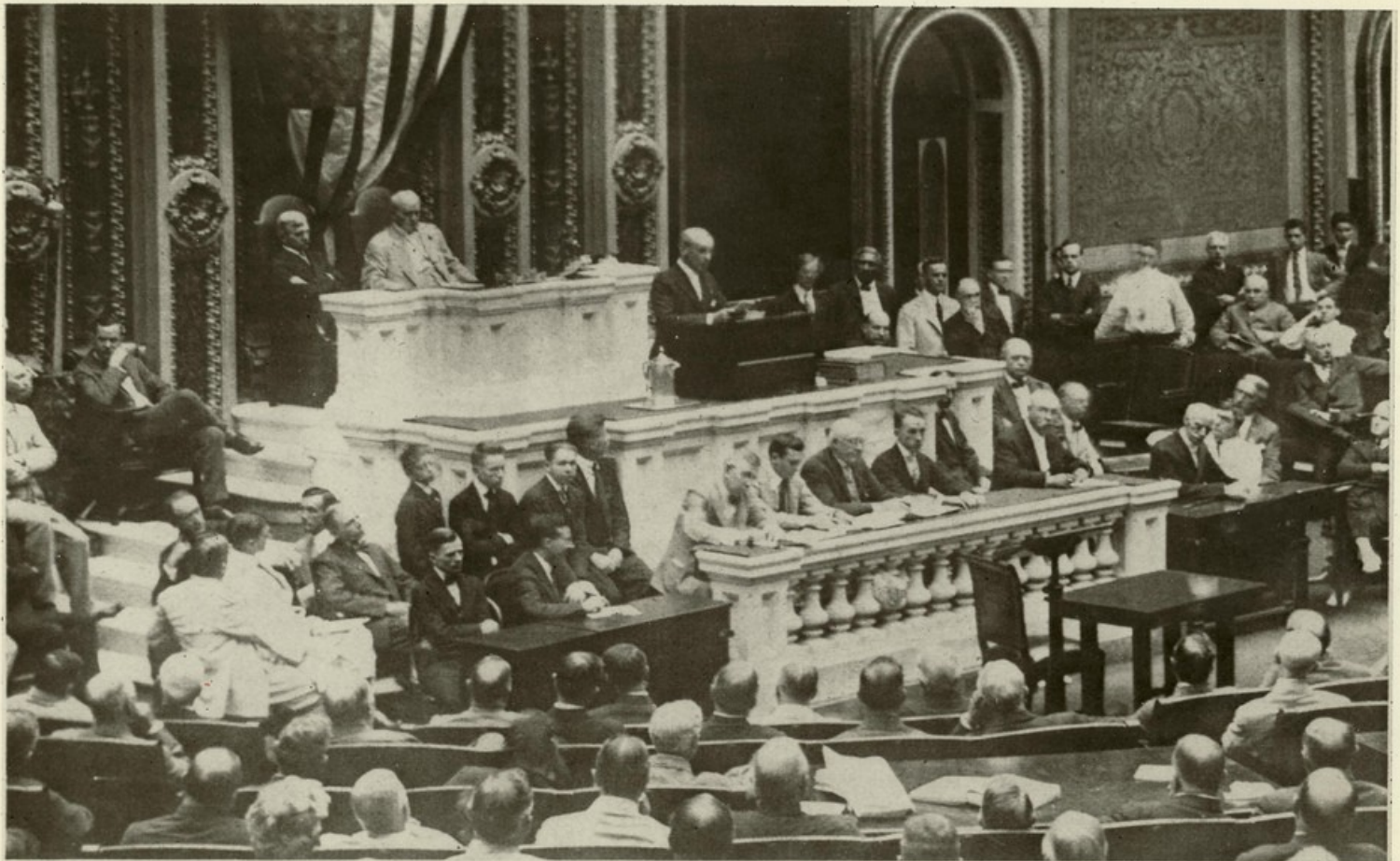
David Lloyd George, Gen. Jan Christian Smuts, Winston Churchill, Rufus Isaacs, Sir William Wiseman

Prominent British Dignitaries during World War I:

King George V of Great Britain	King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain ()
Lionel Walter Rothschild, 2nd Baron Rothschild	Baron Rothschild [Peerage of the United Kingdom] (1915-1937)
David Lloyd George	Prime Minister of Great Britain (December 7, 1916-October 22, 1922) Chancellor of the Exchequer (April 12, 1908-May 25, 1915)
Andrew Boner Law	Chancellor of the Exchequer (December 10, 1916-January 10, 1919)
Lord Arthur J. Balfour	Foreign Secretary of Great Britain (1916-1919)
Lord George Nathaniel Curzon, 1st Marquess Curzon of Kedleston	Leader of the House of Lords (1916-1924); Foreign Secretary of Great Britain (1919-1924)
Lord Alfred Milner	Minister Without Portfolio (1916-1918); Secretary of State for War (April 18, 1918-January 10, 1919)
Lord Robert Cecil	Minister of Blockade (1916-1918); Member of Parliament (1906-1923)
Gen. Jan Christian Smuts	Minister Without Portfolio (1917-1919)
Winston Churchill	Minister of Munitions (July 17, 1917-January 10, 1919)
Maurice P.A. Hankey	Secretary of the Cabinet (1916-1938)
Sir Herbert Samuel	Member of Parliament (1902-1918, 1929-1935); Postmaster General of the United Kingdom (1910-1914, 1915-1916)
Waldorf Astor, 2nd Viscount Astor	Member of Parliament (1910-1919); Member of the House of Lords (1919-1952)
William G. A. Ormsby-Gore (Baron Harlech)	Member of Parliament (1910-1938)
John A. Simon (Viscount Simon)	Member of Parliament (1906-1918, 1922-1940)
Sir Arthur Steel-Maitland	Member of Parliament (1910-1935)
Leopold Amery	Member of Parliament (1910-1944)
Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher	Member of Parliament (1916-1926); President of the Board of Education (1916-1922)
Rufus Isaacs, 1st Marquess of Reading	British Ambassador to the United States (1918-1919); Lord Chief Justice of England (1913-1921)
Frederick Thesiger (Viscount Chelmsford)	Viceroy of India (April 4, 1916-April 2, 1921)
Edwin Samuel Montagu	Secretary of State for India (July 17, 1917-March 19, 1922)
Philip H. Kerr (Lord Lothian)	Editor of <i>The Round Table</i> (1910-1916)
Geoffrey Dawson	Editor of <i>The Times</i> of London (1912-1919, 1922-1941)
Sir John Hanbury-Williams	Chief of the British Military Mission to Russia (1914-1917)
Sir George Mansfield Smith-Cumming	Chief of the Secret Intelligence Service [MI6] (1909-1923)
Sir William Wiseman, 10 th Baronet	Chief of British Intelligence Office in U.S.A. (1917); Partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. (1929-1962)



Edward Douglass White (left), the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court (1910-1921), administers the oath of office to U.S. President Woodrow Wilson in front of the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C. on Monday, March 5, 1917.
(Photo: Library of Congress)



The War message to Congress came on the evening of April 2, 1917. President Wilson's determination to preserve America's rights to freedom of the seas (concretely, to sell

supplies to the Allies) in the face of desperate and ruthless German submarine warfare had at last canceled out his determination to preserve America's peace, brought the na-

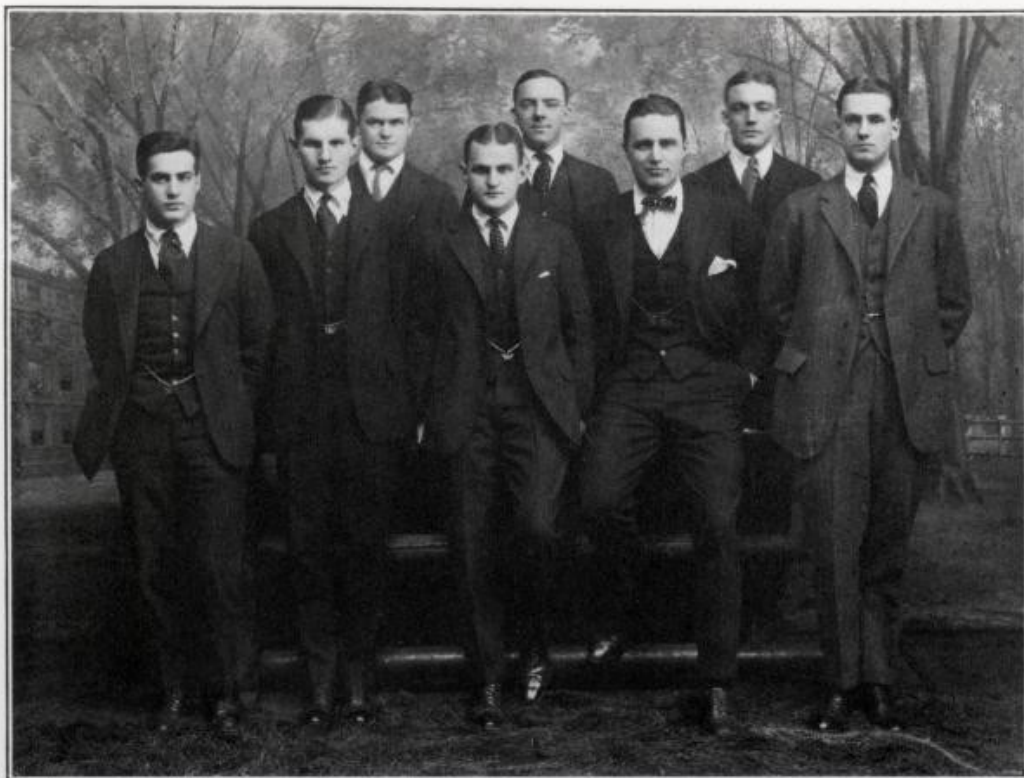
tion to the point of war or surrender. "German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind," he cried. "The world must be made safe for Democracy."

The war message to Congress came on the evening of April 2, 1917. President Woodrow Wilson's determination to preserve America's rights to freedom of the seas (concretely, to sell supplies to the Allies) in the face of desperate and ruthless German submarine warfare had at last canceled out his determination to preserve America's peace, brought the nation to the point of war or surrender. "German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind," he cried. "The world must be made safe for democracy." (Photo: <http://www.flickr.com/photos/wwplarchives/4322145549/>)



The Warburg Brothers, from left to right: Max Warburg, Paul Warburg, and Felix Warburg

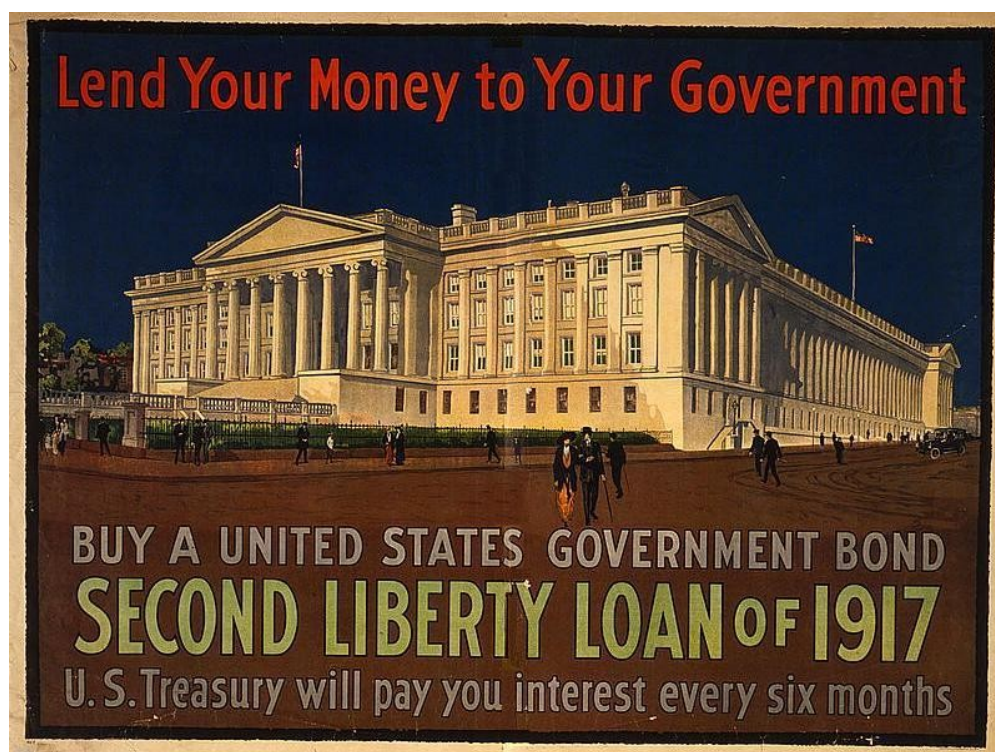
Max Warburg served as a financial adviser to Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany and was the head of M.M. Warburg banking firm in Hamburg, Germany during World War I; Max Warburg served on the board of directors of I.G. Farben chemical cartels during the late 1920s. Paul Warburg was a member of the Board of the Governors of the Federal Reserve during World War I. Felix Warburg was a partner of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. banking firm in New York City during World War I.



Markle Murray O'Brien Bentley Clement
Cunningham Ward Bush

Prescott & Friends at Yale: The Whiffenpoofs (a Yale chorus group) of 1917 pose for a group portrait. **Prescott Sheldon Bush (third from right), the “Big Man on Campus” and a member of Skull & Bones who graduated from Yale University in 1917, served in the U.S. Army as a captain of Field Artillery in American [Allied] Expeditionary Forces from 1917 to 1919.** Prescott Sheldon Bush was a U.S. Senator from 1952 to 1963, the father of former U.S. President George H.W. Bush and grandfather of former U.S. President George W. Bush.

Left to Right: “Eck” Markle, Oliver B. Cunningham, Lawrence Newbold Murray, “Woody” Ward, Kenneth O’Brien, Prescott S. Bush, Richard Bentley, and Stuart Holmes Clement. Oliver B. Cunningham and Prescott S. Bush were members of Skull & Bones. Lawrence Newbold Murray, Kenneth O’Brien, Richard Bentley, and Stuart Holmes Clement were members of Scroll & Key.
(Photo: [Yale University Manuscripts and Archives](#))



Second Liberty Loan of 1917 poster

Congressman Lindbergh's Articles of Impeachment against the Federal Reserve
Congressional Record (U.S. House of Representatives), February 12, 1917, p. 3126-3130



U.S. Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh Sr. (1859-1924)

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker and the House of Representatives, I, Charles A. Lindbergh, the undersigned, upon my responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives, do hereby impeach W. P. G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members, each individually as a member of the Federal Reserve Board, and also all of them collectively as the five active working members of said board, or high crimes and misdemeanors.

I, upon my responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives, do hereby impeach W. P. G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; and Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members, and each of them as members of the Federal Reserve Board, and also impeach all of them collectively as the five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, of high crimes and misdemeanors in aiding, abetting, and conspiring with certain persons and firms hereinafter named, and with other persons, and firms, known and unknown, in a conspiracy to violate the Constitution and the laws of the United States and the just and equitable policies of the Government, which said conspiracy developed and grew out of and was consummated from the following facts and acts, to wit:

First. On or about the month of July, 1906, the exact date being unknown to the relater, the late J.P. Morgan of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and the said firm, private bankers and brokers, with their main office in New York City and doing business all over the world; Paul M. Warburg, of the firm Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co, also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world, with their main office in New York City; Lee, Higginson, & Co., also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world with their main offices in Boston and New York; Kidder, Peabody & Co. Also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world, with their main offices in Boston and New York, the National City Bank of New York with its office in the city of New York and doing a general banking business domestic and foreign; the First National Bank of New York with its office in New York city doing a general banking business domestic and foreign; and various other persons and firms, known unknown to the relator , did conspire with each other to devise a means through social, political, and other ways of strategy of and by general chicanery, to deceive the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President of the United States for the purpose and with the object to secure an act of Congress providing for a new monetary and banking system to have in in a provision for a managing board vested with unusual and extraordinary powers and to secure the appointment upon the board of management that should be provided for in the act persons for membership on the board who would by subterfuge manipulation, and false administration, so manage as to avoid the spirit and the purpose of the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President aimed at in the passage of an act and instead of administering the act to meet with the spirit and comply with its terms, to induce and secure such board to enter in the conspiracy aforesaid, to administer the act for the special benefit and advantage of all of the said conspirators hereinbefore named, and their associates and contrary to the letter, intent and purpose of the act itself and in contravention of the Constitution and law; that in order to start the campaign with a plan well matured to succeed in said conspiracy Paul M. Warburg, now vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, but then a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb, & Co was a most active participant in drafting the main features and principles which should be embodied into whatever bill might be put through Congress, and did also assist in a plan for a second campaign to be kept from the knowledge of the President with the appointing power, and from the Senate, with the confirming power in the selection and confirmation of all high Federal appointive officials in order that a board of administration should, when the time came for its selection, be appointed that would carry out the designs of the conspirators aforesaid; that there that were many secret meetings held by the conspirators for this purpose which under the very circumstances would be screened and kept from the public and made practically impossible to discover, but nevertheless made certain of the fact because of the acts which point back to their

creation; that one of such meetings which your relator does not undertake to verify the truth of its holding, but is reliably informed that it was held – is described in Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Magazine in the October 19, 1916, number thereof, which is hereby referred to as showing the method most likely to have been followed for planning the then contemplated act of Congress which is now the act known as the Federal reserve act.

Second. That in pursuance of said conspiracy to promote the object of the conspirators aforesaid and as part of that general scheme to induce Congress to legislate upon the monetary and banking system as stated hereinbefore, said conspirators caused to be organized the so-called Citizens League with headquarters in the city of Chicago, to act as a mother organization and promoter to induce organization of the several states of auxiliary and affiliated leagues, and by misrepresentation to the public and to the origin of said mother league and its purpose to induce citizens who should have no knowledge of the said conspiracy and would be innocent of any wrong intention, and whose motives and intent would be to act in the common interests of their country, to join in the formation of auxiliary league throughout the several States in order to give the outward and surface appearance of respectability and honor, and that in pursuance of that plan the conspirators succeeded in organizing affiliated leagues in 45 of the States; that when organized the conspirators hereinbefore named, themselves directed who should be sent to these organizations as speakers and instructors, and also the kind of literature that should be distributed to the members and to the general public, the design of which was to have only such speakers, instructors, and literature as would discredit the then existing banking and currency system and prejudice the people in every way possible against it; but notwithstanding the then existing banking and currency system was bad and unfitted to the demands of the Nation and the needs of commerce and trade, and such campaign was by its conspirators aforesaid directed not to designate to the public what sort of a banking and currency system would be adopted in its stead, but the promoters of the conspiracy should pretend that the object of the campaign was to aid in every way to create a new monetary banking and currency system to take the place of the then existing bad one, and, as far as it could be done, the conspirators should prevent the people getting together to prepare a plan of their own to be presented to Congress: that the purpose of the conspirators was simply to make the public believe that a new banking and currency system was absolutely necessary and at the same time keep the public from find out what would be its form and details, all this for the reason that the conspirators aforesaid had their own preconceived plan prepared as a part of their conspiracy, which they would secretly manage in their own way to have presented to Congress as the plan in response to all this public sentiment which the conspirators themselves had ingeniously worked out through the campaign aforesaid, and with the intent that Congress and the President would legislate the conspirators' said plan into effect; that it was part of said plan to create many offices and positions with lucrative salaries, which offices and positions would be equivalent to a bid for the ambitious to support it, because these offices and positions would be filled by the leaders and most active persons who would join in the campaign to put the conspiracy into effect and influence Congress and the President for the purpose of securing the legislation.

Third. That in further pursuance of said conspiracy and to be in control of the information and literature that should be distributed through the Nation, the said conspirators then having control of a large number of magazines, newspapers, and publishing companies, used all of these, and proceeded to procure control of as many more as could be purchased or subsidized to publish articles prepared by subsidized writers who would criticize the existing banking and currency system so as to create public sentiment against; that of the thousands of country newspapers, a majority of them use 'so-called "patent" articles not edited or even practically controlled by the owners of the papers, which patent articles are commonly called "boiler-plate" stuff, and no responsibility as to the influence such articles have upon the public attaches to anybody; that those writing this "boiler-plate" stuff so published, many of them were also subsidized and controlled by the said conspirators, so that the small newspapers were practically forced to carry on a campaign against the then existing banking and currency system along the same lines of the others referred to hereinbefore; that readers generally do not have the opportunity to distinguish between "boiler-plate" articles and the articles which the editors of the smaller papers write themselves; that the news-distributing agencies through the telegraph and telephone were then and still are largely controlled by said conspirators, and the operators of the news agencies have been allowed to report only such news relating to a new banking and currency system as would promote said conspiracy, and required to suppress and everything in the way of information or news that would tend to encourage the people to prepare for themselves a concrete plan for banking and currency in the interest of all the people; that the general play of the conspiracy was to suppress every article, statement, and thing so far as possible, which would give any information as to the existence of said conspiracy all of which was for the purpose of enabling the conspirators aforesaid to deceive the people as well as Congress and the President, in order that said conspirators might finally consummate their aforesaid conspiracy.

Fourth. That in consequence of the campaign carried on by said conspirators stated and recited in paragraphs named "First," "Second" and "Third" in these impeachment articles, and numerous secret, clandestine, and underground methods employed by said conspirators, the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President were deceived, and as the first official act in the consummation of the objects sought by said conspirators Congress did legislate and pass and act of Congress which was signed by the President, and is known as the Federal reserve act, which act is substantially the plan prepared by said conspirators as aforesaid.

Fifth. That immediately upon the passage of the Federal reserve act the said conspirators disorganized the so-called "Citizens' League" and all the affiliated leagues in the 45 States referred to in the paragraph named "Second" herein; that prior to such disorganization the said conspirators had by secret and underground methods, and for the purpose of using the same in completing and perpetuating their conspiracy, organized another "association" and called it the "United States Chamber of Commerce," giving it that name in order to deceive the public by making it appear that is a department of the Government, which organization is administered with more intricate machinery for management the so-called "Citizens' League" was, and with a purpose of taking up the work of coordinating everything

social, political, business and other to work for the benefit of the said conspirators in carrying out their plan to force the masses of mankind into absolute and abject industrial slavery; that the methods and the design of the “United States Chamber of Commerce” are set forth to remarks which your relator placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD March 10, 1916, and are hereby referred to for more specific detail; that the influence of the “United States Chamber of Commerce” is one of the agencies being used as an aid to further consummate the conspiracy charged in these articles of impeachment.

Sixth. That the said Federal reserve act is so framed that it has the possibility and contains the provisions which, under proper and impartial administration, would furnish a remedy to some of the faults that existed in the banking and currency system which it superseded, but also contains provisions which, under a bad and improper administration, makes it more dangerous to the public welfare than ever the old banking and currency system was; that the main feature of the said Federal reserve act in giving effect to it is the authority vested in the Federal Reserve Board and the discretion entrusted to the members thereof in its “administration”; that the “administration” of said Federal reserve act is vested in the Federal Reserve Board, advised by the Federal reserve advisory council made up of 12 persons, 1 selected by each of the 12 Federal reserve banks; that the 5 active working members of the Federal Reserve Board are the said W.P.G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; and Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members; and that the Federal reserve advisory council is formed by the following persons to wit: Daniel G. Wing of Boston; J. P. Morgan, of New York; Levi L. Rue, of Philadelphia; W.S. Rose, of Cleveland; J. N. Norwich of Richmond; Charles A. Lysterly, of Atlanta; J.B. Forgan, of Chicago; Frank O. Watts, of St Louis; J.R. Mitchell, of Minneapolis; E.F. Swinney, of Kansas City; T. J. Record, of Dallas; and Herbert Fleishacker, of San Francisco; that the said Federal Reserve Board and the said Federal reserve advisory council held many meetings and are now and have been ever since the Federal reserve act was passed, fully advised as to financial and business conditions, domestic and foreign; that the members of the Federal Reserve Board and the members of the Federal reserve advisory council are men with enormous business interests, and each of them have been for more than 15 years last past, and are now excessive operators and speculators for individual profit and gain in the markets, and control several of the largest banks in the country; that J.P. Morgan Jr. is the lending member of the firm of J.P. Morgan & Co., one of the firm hereinbefore charged with being a party to the conspiracy aforesaid; that several of the members of the Federal reserve advisory council own stock in the National City Bank of New York and the First National Bank of New York, they being the two banks charged hereinbefore with being parties to the said conspiracy, and said members also own stock and are interested in business and managed and controlled by the parties specifically named as the conspirators in the paragraph hereinbefore designated as “First”; that Paul M. Warburg, a member and vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, was at the time of the original formation of the conspiracy aforesaid a party to the said conspiracy, and a partner and member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., one of the conspirators; that each of the members of the Federal Reserve Board and of the Federal reserve advisory council are associated with and form a part of a group of promoters and speculators, the individual members of which reside in various parts of the United States, principally in the large cities, and a few of them live in Europe, which said group individually and collectively deal in credits, stocks, bonds, securities and various promoting enterprises from which they have made billions of dollars in profits, and still operate and propose to continue their operations for the purpose of making still greater profits upon their future dealings; that in further pursuance of their said purpose, they joined in the original conspiracy aforesaid and it was planned as a part of the said original conspiracy to create several great business and financial centers in different parts of the United States in order to facilitate with celerity a coordination of all big business and all financial control; for the benefit of the said conspirators in carrying out their plan of personal gain in contravention to the public welfare; that said group instigated the campaign which finally resulted in the passage of the Federal reserve act; that in the administration of said act by the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, and through the influence exercised over them by the members of the Federal reserve advisory council, and collectively all of the members and membership of both the Federal Reserve Board and of the Federal reserve advisory council, a part of and influenced by said larger “group” in this paragraph designated as having joined in the conspiracy aforesaid, the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, each individually and all collectively, at all times since they became members of the said Federal Reserve Board, knowingly and intentionally have been improperly influenced by the said “group,” and because of such influence have failed to administer the Federal reserve act in accordance with the spirit, letter, and intent of Congress and the President when the act was passed; but, on the contrary, the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board hereinbefore specifically named as such, with intent to evade and set aside by “administration” all the purposes of Congress and of the President in the passage and approval of the act, and of the act itself, have administered, and are now administering, the Federal reserve act with the intent to coordinate “big business” and “speculation” for the benefit of the said “group” of operators and speculators hereinbefore designated as having taken part in the original conspiracy; that said National City Bank hereinbefore named, in which many of the other conspirators own stock, acts as the “official mouthpiece” for them all, to give technical information to enable them all to act in concert; that to facilitate its distribution said bank issues a monthly bulletin; that in its February, 1917, bulletin, in an article dealing with the present plethora of money and credit available, among other “tips” intended for the conspirators to act upon, is the following – and I would like the House to hear it – this is what is contained the bulletin which the National City Bank issued:

Under the circumstances money promises to be in abundant supply, but if bankers have a proper regard for their responsibilities it will not be correspondingly cheap. Compensatory rates for money and ample reserves should be consistently maintained.

That said bulletin was sent to the Federal Reserve Board, to all the Federal reserve banks, to all the larger National and State banks and trust companies, in order to “tip” off to the conspirators and those acting in concert to tighten the rates of interest; that such “tips” are a common practice and do prevent the reduction of interest rates to borrowers for legitimate business, contrary to the intent and purpose of Congress and the President and in contravention of the act itself and to the enormous loss of the people and injury to the general

welfare.

Seventh. That there are approximately 20,000 State banks and trust companies in the United States, incorporated and organized under the State laws of the respective States in which their offices and places of business are located, and doing a general banking business, State and interstate, many of which are eligible to become members of the Federal Reserve System, and many not now eligible could become so without an increase of their capitalization; that of those now eligible and that could qualify for membership in the Federal Reserve System without an increase of their capital, they have more than half of the capitalization of all the banks not now included in the Federal Reserve System; that the capitalization of State banks and trust companies, which are not members of the Federal Reserve System exceeds the capital of the banks which are members of the Federal System; that the governors and other high and administrative officials of the 12 Federal reserve banks, through their influence with member banks, wittingly or unwittingly, but most of them wittingly, became accessories to the said conspiracy of the said persons and parties named in these articles of impeachment in the paragraph herein designated as "First" and have caused a boycott of all banks not members of the Federal Reserve System by influencing the member banks to hamper, inconvenience, and annoy the patrons of the nonmember banks by discrimination against them in the clearing of checks drawn upon them and otherwise, that they threaten and seek to cajole the nonmember banks in an attempt to force them to become members of the Federal Reserve System; that the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board are cognizant of the same; that the intent, purpose, and aim of each and all of the said conspirators aforesaid is to compel the State banks to join the Federal Reserve System for the purpose of bringing the said banks under the jurisdiction of the Federal Reserve Board in order that all of the banks, National and State, may become one gigantic combination with an absolute and complete monopoly and have the power of exploiting the people for the benefit of the conspirators aforesaid.

Eighth. That Congress in creating the Federal Reserve Board had in mind, and it is the spirit of the Federal reserve act, that the said board should keep a guardian watch over the operations of the banking and currency system and report to Congress and the country; from time to time such facts and occurrences relating to banking and currency as affect the business of the people in trade and commerce exchanges, domestic and foreign, so that Congress should receive information that would give to Congress the facts upon which to base any necessary amendments to the act in order to make it responsive to the general welfare; that contrary to the spirit of the Federal Reserve act, the aforesaid five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board have willfully failed to keep the public and Congress informed of the inflation of bank credits and the effect of it that has taken place under the "administration" of the said act, and in violation of the spirit thereof said members have conspired with the members of the Federal reserve advisory council and their business associates hereinbefore named and have aided and abetted in a conspiracy to a systematic inflation of bank credits for the benefit of the said conspirators and against the public welfare; that in consequence of said unlawful acts and misfeasance in office of the said members of the Federal Reserve Board the bank have, for private gain, increased the bank credits of the country since the passage of said act approximately seven thousand millions of dollars and without effecting a corresponding reduction in the interest rate, thus increasing the aggregate amount of interest paid by the people to the said banks equal to that charged upon said sum; that the effect of the inflation of bank credits has been and is to also increase speculative credits enormously more than equal to the inflation of bank credits, and that such increase since the Federal reserve act took effect has been billions of dollars that the increase in the aggregate sum of interest paid to the banks upon the said inflated bank credits and the increase caused by the said inflation in the speculative values upon commodities required to supply the necessities of life for the people has been many billions of dollars, which have been added to the cost of living for the people to pay; that said increase in the cost of living is mainly the profits that the conspirators have added to their individual fortunes to the equivalent loss of the people generally and to the Government as well.

Ninth. That as part of the said conspiracy and in furtherance of the same the said aforesaid conspirators, in violation of the Nation's heretofore established economic policy of conservation of material and natural resources, conspired European speculators to draw upon the material resources of this Nation for export with no correlation between value of the materials exported and the value of the materials imported; that in consequence of the conspiracy to affect said export of material resources belonging to this Nation and to the people of it approximately eight thousand millions of dollars in value of the material resources have been exported since the war in Europe began; that as a result thereof the said conspirators acted with the said five members of the Federal Reserve Board in manipulating bank credits, and through credits the markets increased the cost to American consumers in the same period approximately sixteen thousand millions of dollars in excess of the real values, which extra cost has mainly been the profits that have been added to the fortunes of the aforesaid conspirators; that as an additional and future loss to the people of this Nation in consequence of the facts aforesaid, the natural material resources of the Nation are forever less, and the costs made forever higher than they would be if trade and commerce were not manipulated through a false administration of finances.

Tenth. That to further carry out the said conspiracy the aforesaid conspirators have, ever since the Federal reserve act took effect, sought to influence, and in fact have influenced, said five members of the Federal Reserve Board in an attempt to further deceive Congress to secure legislation granting to the said board enlarged powers of "administration"; that in the Sixty-third Congress the said board, concealing the real purpose to aid said conspirators, deceived the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to get it to report for passage the then Senate bill 6505 and it passed the Senate and subsequently came before the House Banking and Currency Committee and was favorably reported, your relator, however, filing a minority report in opposition. Later, on the floor of the House, the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee withdrew action on the bill; that the aim of said bill was to give the Federal Reserve Board greater "administrative" power over the gold supply, so that it could, whenever the conspirators aforesaid wished it, inflate still further the banking credit by an issue of the Federal-reserve notes for the benefit of said conspirators; that again in this Sixty-fourth Congress

said active working members of the Federal Reserve Board alleged, repeatedly sought the House Banking and Currency Committee to report a bill giving greater “administrative” powers to said board than is authorized by the original act; in fact, to give said board power to force from banks all over the country the gold in their vaults and into the 12 Federal reserve banks, there to form a basis upon which to issue still more Federal-reserve notes and further inflate credit without causing a reduction of interests that in the aggregate would equal the charge made on the inflated currency, but serving mainly as a guaranty to reinforce the conspirators hereinbefore named in exploiting of the people for private gain.

Eleventh. That the Federal reserve act obligates the United States to redeem in gold at the United States Treasury all Federal reserve notes, and as a part of the said conspiracy and in furtherance of the same, and to extend the speculation of the operators and perpetrators of the said conspiracy to include Europe and other foreign territory, they, most of them being international as well as domestic bankers, seek to dominate the relations of the United States with foreign countries and to selfishly influence the same by means of the control of finances, and in furtherance of said branch of their speculations have conspired with the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board to secure aid from the Federal Reserve System for said selfish purposes and not in the interest of the public, the conspirators in connivance with the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board had the said board select and appoint, through the Federal reserve bank of New York, the so-called Bank of England as its agent, thus putting the credit of the Government of the United States back of this foreign corporation, organized for private gain, which is no longer able to make payments in gold and fails to give a statement of its true conditions; that said Federal Reserve Board is threatening to permit and also to render aid to the international bankers in America who dominate the banking system, to enter into further entangling alliances with bankrupt countries of Europe at the very time this Government contemplates issuing hundreds of millions of dollars of interest-bearing bonds upon the credit of the people of the Nation to meet the Government expenses.

Twelfth. That during the Civil War the Government of the United States issued money commonly called “greenbacks” ; the same being issued upon the credit of the people of the Nation; that of said “greenbacks” so issued there have been ever since their issue and now are outstanding and in general circulation based upon the credit of the people of the United States \$346,681,016, for which a reserve of \$150,000,000 in gold is held by the Government to guarantee their redemption if demanded; that said circulating “greenbacks” have already saved the Government from paying approximately \$1,000,000,000 interest during the time they have been in circulation and are now saving the Government approximately \$6,000,000 annually; that in furtherance of said conspiracy in these articles of impeachment alleged and as part thereof, the conspirators have sought and by secret connivance now seek to have the said “greenbacks” retired and the \$150,000,000 of gold guarantee placed in the Federal reserve banks on which to base the loaning of “bank credits” as a substitute for the money owned by the people; that if the Federal reserve banks are allowed to secure possession of said gold, when the time comes that the conspirators aforesaid shall be able to use additional bank credits to their advantages in exploiting the people, the same would become the basis for additional bank inflation, directly and indirectly, to the extent of over a billion dollars upon which the banks would collect a great sum of interest, and the speculators would scalp even greater profits from additional manipulation of the markets, all of which would be added to the cost of living for the people to pay.

Thirteenth. That in furtherance of the said aforesaid conspiracy and as a part of the same the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, in their capacity as members, have arbitrarily at all times and with intent to prevent the legitimate business interests of the country securing the advantages that Congress sought to give by the passage of the Federal reserve act, and in connivance with the big reserve and central reserve banks controlled by the conspirators aforesaid, established rediscount rates for member banks desiring to borrow from Federal reserve banks above the rates charged by the reserve and central reserve banks, which creates an excuse for the member banks in the country to charge higher rates of interest to legitimate borrowers than they otherwise would; that the interest rates charged by the reserve and central reserve banks, on the one hand, and the higher rates charged by the Federal reserve banks on the other hand, is maintained at certain times when the conspirators aforesaid desire to draw the reserves of the country banks to the reserve and central reserve cities for the interest that these reserve banks pay on deposit balances and in anticipation of times when the country banks may wish to rediscount paper with said banks; that by following the arbitrary practice of rediscounts aforesaid the said conspirators are enabled to and do go on with their speculations, manipulate the markets, and exploit the people, and whenever they find themselves in financial stress they can raise the rates of interest in the reserve and central reserve banks, which they control, above the Federal reserve bank discount rates, thus forcing the country banks, which may have rediscounted with reserve banks in order to give accommodations to their borrowers, to rediscount with the Federal reserve banks to enable them to repay the reserve and central reserve banks, in order to create free money and credit for said conspirators to carry on their speculations; that the Federal reserve act contains several provisions which when applied under the “administrative” power of the Federal Reserve Board serve as a means of taking or imposing a toll in the nature of discriminatory interest rates in order to force a shift of money and credits from one section of the country to another, or out of the country and to foreign countries; that this discriminatory power vested in the Federal Reserve Board is willfully abused by the said five active working members of the said board for the benefit and in the interest of the said aforesaid conspirators; that the people of the United States have been injured to the extent of several billions of dollars by reason thereof.

Fourteenth. That in furtherance of said aforesaid conspiracy and to give the said aforesaid conspirators complete practical power to carry out and put into effect their purpose of making the masses of mankind absolutely dependent upon “big business,” and in order to create industrial slaves of the masses the said aforesaid conspirators did conspire and now conspire to have the Federal reserve act “administered” so as to enable the conspirators to coordinate all kinds of “big business” and to keep themselves in control of “big

business,” in order to amalgamate all of the “trusts” into one great trust in restraint and control of trade and commerce, and thus be able to exploit the masses and take from them their earnings, except what they would require for bare subsistence; that to that end and to give them power to accomplish the same said conspirators have marshaled all of the different kinds of “big business” and induced those in control to use their means and whatever kind of patronage and favors they have to give in such way as to promote the objects and purposes of said conspirators and to enslave the masses of humanity; that at the same time that the said conspirators marshal their own “big business” supporters by a coordination of all their interests they have use every trick and subterfuge possible to create friction among the masses and divide them into hostile contending factions, thus keeping the masses from coordinating their affairs to promote the general welfare that the said aforesaid five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board have all the time, by a willful and wrongful “administration” of the Federal reserve act, aided and abetted the said aforesaid conspirators in promoting and carrying out the objects of their said conspiracy and have refused and failed to so administer the Federal reserve act as to have the same promote and operate in favor of the general welfare.

Fifteenth. That the Federal reserve act is void and unconstitutional, but that notwithstanding, the conspirators aforesaid have so manipulated things as to prevent the question of constitutionality of the act from being brought before the courts.
CHARLES A. LINDBERGH

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I suppose my privilege stops now, does it?

The SPEAKER. It does.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I ask for five minutes in which to answer the question of the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks five minutes. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. SHERWOOD. In case the Senate should sit as an impeachment court, you have evidence to establish that charge?

Mr. LINDBERGH. I want to say this: I have spent enough time and made enough investigation of this case to know that I can demonstrate – accurately, I may say, but to a mathematical certainty – that the charges in this impeachment are substantially true. I may not be able to establish by direct proof that that some of these meetings to which the impeachment refers were held, but that the charges are substantially true, I will certainly show.

Mr. SHERWOOD. That is, by substantial evidence?

Mr. LINDBERGH. By substantial evidence, and by effects which the business of this country demonstrates beyond question. Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to insert, following the reading of these articles, my remarks upon them and the questions that are incidentally involved in the impeachment articles.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. SIEGEL. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the impeachment articles be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and on that I demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the impeachment articles be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and on that he demands the previous question. The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to refer. The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

Note: Charles A. Lindbergh Sr. (Republican Party-Minnesota) was a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives from March 4, 1907 to March 3, 1917.

active canvasses. I was losing interest in politics when the repeal of the Missouri compromise aroused me again. What I have done since then is pretty well known.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

If any personal description of me is thought desirable, it may be said I am, in height, 6 feet 4 inches, nearly; lean in flesh, weighing on an average 180 pounds; dark complexion, with coarse black hair and gray eyes. No other marks or brands recollected.

History takes up the story where Abraham Lincoln left off, and tells how he was elected President of the United States, how he guided the Nation through the Civil War, how he brought about the abolition of slavery, how he was reelected, and how he was shot down by an assassin, John Wilkes Booth, on the night of April 14, 1865, dying early the next morning.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me read the

ODE FOR THE FUNERAL OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

[By William Cullen Bryant.]

(Read in New York, Apr. 25, 1865, at the martyred President's obsequies.)

Oh, slow to smite and swift to spare,
Gentle, and merciful, and just!
Who, in the fear of God, didst bear
The sword of power—a Nation's trust.

In sorrow by thy bier we stand,
Amid the awe that hushes all,
And speak the anguish of a land
That shook with horror at thy fall.

Thy task is done—the bonds are free—
We bear thee to an honored grave,
Whose proudest monument shall be
The broken fetters of the slave.

Pure was thy life; its bloody close
Hath placed thee with the sons of light,
Among the noble host of those
Who perished in the cause of right.

QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker, before I use the high privilege that I have here, to prefer these articles of impeachment, I ask the unanimous consent of the House to proceed for four minutes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to proceed for four minutes, prefatory to his motion of impeachment. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker and fellow colleagues, in preferring these articles of impeachment, which I am about to begin to read, I realize that I am taking a serious and important step. But I have given much thought and consideration to the step which I am about to take. I shall make no motion after I have read these articles of impeachment, but shall leave it to the House to act upon that question. I realize that often a motion to lay upon the table is what follows the reading of important articles, and I think these are of that character; and if they are disposed of in this way I wish to say to the membership of this House that that is not the way to dispose of these articles which I shall read. It would not be doing justice to the country if it is done in that way. Either I am right in presenting these articles of impeachment or I am wrong. If I do injustice to the House, if I do injustice to the country in preferring articles of impeachment which ought not to be preferred, then it is the duty of the House to discredit me for doing that thing. I do not, however, expect to be discredited, though undoubtedly powerful influence will be used to prevent favorable action on the articles of impeachment. Therefore, I shall proceed with the reading of the articles, and at the close I shall ask unanimous consent for the privilege of extending my remarks upon this question and the incidental questions that are involved in it.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks. Is there objection?

Mr. MANN. Reserving the right to object, Mr. Speaker, the gentleman can ask that at the conclusion of his remarks.

The SPEAKER. I thought he was asking it now.

Mr. LINDBERGH. No. I wish the House to know what is in the articles of impeachment before I ask that privilege.

The SPEAKER. All right.

Mr. LINDBERGH. Mr. Speaker and the House of Representatives, I, CHARLES A. LINDBERGH, the undersigned, upon my responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives, do hereby impeach W. P. G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; and Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members, each individually as a member of the Federal Reserve Board, and also all of them collectively as the five active working members of said board, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

I, upon my responsibility as a Member of the House of Representatives, do hereby impeach the said W. P. G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; and Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members, and each of them as members of the Federal Reserve Board, and also impeach all of them collectively as the five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, of high crimes and misdemeanors in aiding, abetting, and conspiring with certain persons and firms hereinafter named, and with other persons and firms, known and unknown, in a conspiracy to violate the Constitution and the laws of the United States and the just and equitable policies of the Government, which said conspiracy developed and grew out of and was consummated from the following facts and acts, to wit:

First. On or about the month of July, 1906, the exact date being unknown to the relator, the late J. P. Morgan, of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., and the said firm, private bankers and brokers, with their main office in New York City and doing business all over the world; Paul M. Warburg, of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., and the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world, with their main office in New York City; Lee, Higginson & Co., also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world, with their main offices in Boston and New York; Kidder, Peabody & Co., also private bankers and brokers, doing business all over the world, with their main offices in Boston and New York; the National City Bank of New York, with its office in the city of New York and doing a general banking business, domestic and foreign; the First National Bank of New York, with its office in New York City, doing a general banking business, domestic and foreign; and various others persons and firms, known and unknown to the relator, did conspire with each other to devise a means through social, political, and other ways of strategy and by general chicanery, to deceive the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President of the United States for the purpose and with the object to secure an act of Congress providing for a new monetary and banking system, to have in it a provision for a managing board vested with unusual and extraordinary powers, and to secure the appointment upon the board of management that should be provided for in the act persons for membership on the board who would, by subterfuge, manipulation, and false administration, so manage as to avoid the spirit and the purpose of the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President aimed at in the passage of such an act, and instead of administering the act to meet with the spirit and comply with its terms, to induce and secure such board to enter into the conspiracy aforesaid, to administer the act for the special benefit and advantage of all of the said conspirators hereinbefore named, and their associates, and contrary to the letter, intent, and purpose of the act itself and in contravention of the Constitution and law; that in order to start the campaign with a plan well matured to succeed in said conspiracy, Paul M. Warburg, now vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, but then a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., was a most active participant in drafting the main features and principles which should be embodied into whatever bill might be put through Congress, and did also assist in a plan for a secret campaign, to be kept from the knowledge of the President, with the appointing power, and from the Senate, with the confirming power in the selection and confirmation of all high Federal appointive officials, in order that a board of administration should, when the time came for its selection, be appointed that would carry out the designs of the conspirators aforesaid; that there were many secret meetings held by the conspirators for this purpose, which under the very circumstances would be screened and kept from the public and made practically impossible to discover, but nevertheless made certain of the fact because of the acts which point back to their creation; that one of such meetings—which your relator does not undertake to verify the truth of its holding, but is reliably informed that it was held—is described in Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Magazine in the October 19, 1916, number thereof, which is hereby referred to as showing the method most likely to have been followed for planning the then contemplated act of Congress, which is now the act known as the Federal reserve act.

Second. That in pursuance of said conspiracy to promote the object of the conspirators aforesaid and as a part of their general scheme to induce Congress to legislate upon the monetary and banking system as stated hereinbefore, said conspirators caused to be organized the so-called Citizens League, with headquarters in the city of Chicago, to act as a mother organization and promoter to induce organization in the several States of auxiliary and affiliated leagues, and by misrepresentation to the public as to the origin of the said mother league and its

purpose to induce citizens who should have no knowledge of the said conspiracy and would be innocent of any wrong intention, and whose motives and intent would be to act in the common interests of their country, to join in the formation of auxiliary leagues throughout the several States in order to give the outward and surface appearance of respectability and honor, and that in pursuance of that plan the conspirators succeeded in organizing affiliated leagues in 45 of the States; that when organized the conspirators hereinbefore named, themselves directed who should be sent to these organizations as speakers and instructors, and also the kind of literature that should be distributed to the members and to the general public, the design of which was to have only such speakers, instructors, and literature as would discredit the then existing banking and currency system and prejudice the people in every way possible against it; but notwithstanding the then existing banking and currency system was bad and unfitted to the demands of the Nation and the needs of commerce and trade, such campaign was by its conspirators aforesaid directed not to designate to the public what sort of a banking and currency system would be adopted in its stead, but the promoters of the conspiracy should pretend that the object of the campaign was to aid in every way to create a new monetary banking and currency system to take the place of the then existing bad one, and, as far as it could be done, the conspirators should prevent the people getting together to prepare a plan of their own to be presented to Congress; that the purpose of the conspirators was simply to make the public believe that a new banking and currency system was absolutely necessary and at the same time keep the public from finding out what would be its form and details, all this for the reason that the conspirators aforesaid had their own preconceived plan prepared as a part of their conspiracy, which they would secretly manage in their own way to have presented to Congress as the plan in response to all this public sentiment which the conspirators themselves had ingeniously worked out through the campaign aforesaid, and with the intent that Congress and the President would legislate the conspirators' said plan into effect; that it was a part of said plan to create many offices and positions with lucrative salaries, which offices and positions would be equivalent to a bid for the ambitious to support it, because these offices and positions would be filled by the leaders and most active persons who would join in the campaign to put the conspiracy into effect and influence Congress and the President for the purpose of securing the legislation.

Third. That in further pursuance of said conspiracy and to be in control of the information and literature that should be distributed throughout the Nation, the said conspirators then having control of a large number of magazines, newspapers, and publishing companies, used all of these, and proceeded to procure control of as many more as could be purchased or subsidized to publish articles prepared by subsidized writers who would criticize the then existing banking and currency system so as to create public sentiment against it; that of the thousands of country newspapers, a majority of them use so-called "patent" articles not edited or even practically controlled by the owners of the papers, which patent articles are commonly called "boiler-plate" stuff, and no responsibility as to the influence such articles have upon the public attaches to anybody; that those writing this "boiler-plate" stuff so published, many of them were also subsidized and controlled by the said conspirators, so that the small newspapers were practically forced to carry on a campaign against the then existing banking and currency system along the same lines of the others referred to hereinbefore; that readers generally do not have the opportunity to distinguish between "boiler-plate" articles and the articles which the editors of the smaller papers write themselves; that the news-distributing agencies through the telegraph and telephone were then and still are largely controlled by said conspirators, and the operators of the news agencies have been allowed to report only such news relating to a new banking and currency system as would promote said conspiracy, and required to suppress any and everything in the way of information or news that would tend to encourage the people to prepare for themselves a concrete plan for banking and currency in the interest of all the people; that the general plan of the conspiracy was to suppress every article, statement, and thing, so far as possible, which would give any information as to the existence of said conspiracy, all of which was for the purpose of enabling the conspirators aforesaid to deceive the people as well as Congress and the President, in order that said conspirators might finally consummate their aforesaid conspiracy.

Fourth. That in consequence of the campaign carried on by said conspirators stated and recited in paragraphs named

"First," "Second," and "Third" in these impeachment articles, and numerous secret, clandestine, and underground methods employed by said conspirators, the people of the United States, the Congress, and the President were deceived, and as the first official act in the consummation of the objects sought by said conspirators Congress did legislate and pass an act of Congress which was signed by the President, and is known as the Federal reserve act, which act is substantially the plan prepared by the said conspirators as aforesaid.

Fifth. That immediately upon the passage of said Federal reserve act the said conspirators disorganized the so-called "Citizens' League" and all the affiliated leagues in the 45 States referred to in the paragraph named "Second" herein; that prior to such disorganization the said conspirators had by secret and underground methods, and for the purpose of using the same in completing and perpetuating their conspiracy, organized another "association" and called it the "United States Chamber of Commerce," giving it that name in order to deceive the public by making it appear that it is a department of the Government, which organization is administered with more intricate machinery for management than the so-called "Citizens' League" was, and with a purpose of taking up the work of coordinating everything social, political, business, and other, to work for the benefit of the said conspirators in carrying out their plan to force the masses of all mankind into absolute and abject industrial slavery; that the methods and the design of the "United States Chamber of Commerce" are set forth in remarks which your relator placed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD March 10, 1916, and are hereby referred to for more specific detail; that the influence of the "United States Chamber of Commerce" is one of the agencies being used as an aid to further consummate the conspiracy charged in these articles of impeachment.

Sixth. That the said Federal reserve act is so framed that it has the possibility and contains the provisions which, under proper and impartial administration, would furnish a remedy to some of the faults that existed in the banking and currency system which it superseded, but also contains provisions which, under a bad and improper administration, makes it more dangerous to the public welfare than even the old banking and currency system was; that the main feature of the said Federal reserve act in giving effect to it is the authority vested in the Federal Reserve Board and the discretion intrusted to the members thereof in its "administration"; that the "administration" of said Federal reserve act is vested in the Federal Reserve Board, advised by the Federal reserve advisory council made up of 12 persons, 1 selected by each of the 12 Federal reserve banks; that the 5 active working members of the Federal Reserve Board are the said W. P. G. Harding, governor; Paul M. Warburg, vice governor; and Frederick A. Delano, Adolph C. Miller, and Charles S. Hamlin, members; and that the Federal reserve advisory council is formed by the following persons, to wit: Daniel G. Wing, of Boston; J. P. Morgan, of New York; Levi L. Rue, of Philadelphia; W. S. Rose, of Cleveland; J. N. Norwood, of Richmond; Charles A. Lively, of Atlanta; J. B. Forgan, of Chicago; Frank O. Watts, of St. Louis; J. R. Mitchell, of Minneapolis; E. F. Swinney, of Kansas City; T. J. Record, of Dallas; and Herbert Fleishhacker, of San Francisco; that the said Federal Reserve Board and the said Federal reserve advisory council held many meetings and are now and have been ever since the Federal reserve act was passed, fully advised as to the financial and business conditions, domestic and foreign; that the members of the Federal Reserve Board and the members of the Federal reserve advisory council are men with enormous business interests, and each of them have been for more than 15 years last past, and are now, extensive operators and speculators for individual profit and gain in the markets, and control several of the largest banks in the country; that J. P. Morgan, Jr., is the leading member of the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co., one of the firm hereinbefore charged with being a party to the conspiracy aforesaid; that several of the members of the Federal reserve advisory council own stock in the National City Bank of New York and the First National Bank of New York, they being the two banks charged hereinbefore with being parties to the said conspiracy, and said members also own stock and are interested in business managed and controlled by the parties specifically named as the conspirators in the paragraph hereinbefore designated as "First"; that Paul M. Warburg, a member and vice governor of the Federal Reserve Board, was at the time of the original formation of the conspiracy aforesaid a party to the said conspiracy, and a partner and member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., one of the conspirators; that each of the members of the Federal Reserve Board and of the Federal reserve advisory council are associated with and form a part of a group of promoters and speculators, the individual members of which

reside in various parts of the United States, principally in the large cities, and a few of them live in Europe, which said group individually and collectively deal in credits, stocks, bonds, securities, and various promoting enterprises from which they have made billions of dollars in profits, and still operate and propose to continue their operations for the purpose of making still greater profits upon their future dealings; that in further pursuance of their said purpose, they joined in the original conspiracy aforesaid and it was planned as a part of the said original conspiracy to create several great business and financial centers in different parts of the United States in order to facilitate and celerify a coordination of all big business and all financial control, for the benefit of the said conspirators in carrying out their plan of personal gain in contravention to the public welfare; that said group instigated the campaign which finally resulted in the passage of the Federal reserve act; that in the administration of said act by the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, and through the influence exercised over them by the members of the Federal reserve advisory council, and collectively all of the members and membership of both the Federal Reserve Board and of the Federal reserve advisory council, a part of and influenced by said larger "group" in this paragraph designated as having joined in the conspiracy aforesaid, the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board, each individually and all collectively, at all times since they became members of the said Federal Reserve Board, knowingly and intentionally have been improperly influenced by the said "group," and because of such influence have failed to administer the Federal reserve act in accordance with the spirit, letter, and intent of Congress and the President when the act was passed; but, on the contrary, the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board hereinbefore specifically named as such, with intent to evade and set aside by "administration" all the purposes of Congress and of the President in the passage and approval of the act, and of the act itself, have administered, and are now administering, the Federal reserve act with the intent to coordinate "big business" and "speculation" for the benefit of the said "group" of operators and speculators hereinbefore designated as having taken part in the original conspiracy; that said National City Bank hereinbefore named, in which many of the other conspirators own stock, acts as the "official mouthpiece" for them all, to give technical information to enable them all to act in concert; that to facilitate its distribution said bank issues a monthly bulletin; that in its February, 1917, bulletin, in an article dealing with the present plethora of money and credit available, among other "tips" intended for the conspirators to act upon, is the following—and I would like the House to hear it—this is what is contained in the bulletin which the National City Bank issued:

Under the circumstances money promises to be in abundant supply, but if bankers have a proper regard for their responsibilities it will not be correspondingly cheap. Compensatory rates for money and ample reserves should be consistently maintained.

That said bulletin was sent to the Federal Reserve Board, to all the Federal reserve banks, to all the larger National and State banks and trust companies, in order to "tip" off to the conspirators and those acting in concert to tighten the rates of interest; that such "tips" are a common practice and do prevent the reduction of interest rates to borrowers for legitimate business, contrary to the intent and purpose of Congress and the President and in contravention of the act itself and to the enormous loss of the people and injury to the general welfare.

Seventh. That there are approximately 20,000 State banks and trust companies in the United States, incorporated and organized under the State laws of the respective States in which their offices and places of business are located, and doing a general banking business, State and interstate, many of which are eligible to become members of the Federal Reserve System, and many not now eligible could become so without an increase of their capitalization; that of those now eligible and that could qualify for membership in the Federal Reserve System without an increase of their capital, they have more than half of the capitalization of all the banks not now included in the Federal Reserve System; that the capitalization of State banks and trust companies which are not members of the Federal Reserve System exceeds the capital of the banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System; that the governors and other high and administrative officials of the 12 Federal reserve banks, through their influence with member banks, wittingly or unwittingly, but most of them wittingly, became accessories to the said conspiracy of the said persons and parties named in these articles of impeachment in the paragraph herein designated as "First" and have caused a boycott of all banks not

members of the Federal Reserve System by influencing the member banks to hamper, inconvenience, and annoy the patrons of the nonmember banks by discrimination against them in the clearing of checks drawn upon them and otherwise; that they threaten and seek to cajole the nonmember banks in an attempt to force them to become members of the Federal Reserve System; that the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board are cognizant of the same; that the intent, purpose, and aim of each and all of the said conspirators aforesaid is to compel the State banks to join the Federal Reserve System for the purpose of bringing the said banks under the jurisdiction of the Federal Reserve Board in order that all of the banks, National and State, may become one gigantic combination with an absolute and complete monopoly and have the power of exploiting the people for the benefit of the conspirators aforesaid.

Eighth. That Congress in creating the Federal Reserve Board had in mind, and it is the spirit of the Federal reserve act, that the said board should keep a guardian watch over the operations of the banking and currency system and report to Congress and the country from time to time such facts and occurrences relating to banking and currency as affect the business of the people in trade and commerce exchanges, domestic and foreign, so that Congress should receive information that would give to Congress the facts upon which to base any necessary amendments to the act in order to make it responsive to the general welfare; that, contrary to the spirit of the Federal Reserve act, the aforesaid five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board have willfully failed to keep the public and Congress informed of the inflation of bank credits and the effect of it that has taken place under the "administration" of the said act, and in violation of the spirit thereof said members have conspired with the members of the Federal reserve advisory council and their business associates hereinbefore named and have aided and abetted in a conspiracy to a systematic inflation of bank credits for the benefit of the said conspirators and against the public welfare; that in consequence of said unlawful acts and misfeasance in office of the said members of the Federal Reserve Board the banks have, for private gain, increased the bank credits of the country since the passage of said act approximately seven thousand millions of dollars and without effecting a corresponding reduction in the interest rate, thus increasing the aggregate amount of interest paid by the people to the said banks equal to that charged upon said sum; that the effect of the inflation of bank credits has been and is to also increase speculative credits enormously more than equal to the inflation of bank credits, and that such increase since the Federal reserve act took effect has been billions of dollars; that the increase in the aggregate sum of interest paid to the banks upon the said inflated bank credits and the increase caused by the said inflation in the speculative values upon commodities required to supply the necessities of life for the people has been many billions of dollars, which have been added to the cost of living for the people to pay; that said increase in the cost of living is mainly the profits that the conspirators have added to their individual fortunes to the equivalent loss of the people generally and to the Government as well.

Ninth. That as part of the said conspiracy and in furtherance of the same the said aforesaid conspirators, in violation of the Nation's heretofore established economic policy of conservation of material and natural resources, conspired with European speculators to draw upon the material resources of this Nation for export with no correlation between the value of the materials exported and the value of the materials imported; that in consequence of the conspiracy to affect said export of material resources belonging to this Nation and to the people of it approximately eight thousand millions of dollars in value of the material resources have been exported since the war in Europe began; that as a result thereof the said conspirators acted with the said five members of the Federal Reserve Board in manipulating bank credits, and through credits the markets increased the cost to American consumers in the same period approximately sixteen thousand millions of dollars in excess of the real values, which extra cost has mainly been the profits that have been added to the fortunes of the aforesaid conspirators; that as an additional and future loss to the people of this Nation in consequence of the facts aforesaid, the natural material resources of the Nation are forever less, and the costs made forever higher than they would be if trade and commerce were not manipulated through a false administration of finances.

Tenth. That to further carry out the said conspiracy the aforesaid conspirators have, ever since the Federal reserve act took effect, sought to influence, and in fact have influenced, said five members of the Federal Reserve Board in an attempt to fur-

ther deceive Congress to secure legislation granting to the said board enlarged powers of "administration"; that in the Sixty-third Congress the said board, concealing the real purpose to aid said conspirators, deceived the Senate Banking and Currency Committee to get it to report for passage the then Senate bill 6505, and it passed the Senate and subsequently came before the House Banking and Currency Committee and was favorably reported, your relator, however, filing a minority report in opposition. Later, on the floor of the House, the chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee withdrew action on the bill; that the aim of said bill was to give the Federal Reserve Board greater "administrative" power over the gold supply, so that it could, whenever the conspirators aforesaid wished it, inflate still further the banking credit by an issue of the Federal-reserve notes for the benefit of said conspirators; that again in this Sixty-fourth Congress said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board alleged, repeatedly sought the House Banking and Currency Committee to report a bill giving greater "administrative" powers to said board than is authorized by the original act; in fact, to give said board power to force from banks all over the country the gold in their vaults and into the 12 Federal reserve banks, there to form a basis upon which to issue still more Federal-reserve notes and further inflate credit without causing a reduction of interests that in the aggregate would equal the charge made on the inflated currency, but serving mainly as a guaranty to reenforce the conspirators hereinbefore named in exploiting of the people for private gain.

Eleventh. That the Federal reserve act obligates the United States to redeem in gold at the United States Treasury all Federal reserve notes, and as a part of the said conspiracy and in furtherance of the same, and to extend the speculation of the operators and perpetrators of the said conspiracy to include Europe and other foreign territory, they, most of them being international as well as domestic bankers, seek to dominate the relations of the United States with foreign countries and to selfishly influence the same by means of the control of finances, and in furtherance of said branch of their speculations have conspired with the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board to secure aid from the Federal Reserve System for said selfish purposes and not in the interest of the public, the conspirators in connivance with the said five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board had the said board select and appoint, through the Federal reserve bank of New York, the so-called Bank of England as its agent, thus putting the credit of the Government of the United States back of this foreign corporation, organized for private gain, which is no longer able to make payments in gold and fails to give a statement of its true conditions; that said Federal Reserve Board is threatening to permit and also to render aid to the international bankers in America who dominate the banking system, to enter into further entangling alliances with bankrupt countries of Europe at the very time this Government contemplates issuing hundreds of millions of dollars of interest-bearing bonds upon the credit of the people of the Nation to meet the Government expenses.

Twelfth. That during the Civil War the Government of the United States issued money commonly called "greenbacks"; the same being issued upon the credit of the people of the Nation; that of said "greenbacks" so issued there have been ever since their issue and now are outstanding and in general circulation based upon the credit of the people of the United States \$346,681,016, for which a reserve of \$150,000,000 in gold is held by the Government to guarantee their redemption if demanded; that said circulating "greenbacks" have already saved the Government from paying approximately \$1,000,000,000 interest during the time they have been in circulation and are now saving the Government approximately \$6,000,000 annually; that in furtherance of said conspiracy in these articles of impeachment alleged and as a part thereof, the conspirators have sought and by secret connivance now seek to have the said "greenbacks" retired and the \$150,000,000 of gold guarantee placed in the Federal reserve banks on which to base the loaning of "bank credits" as a substitute for the money owned by the people; that if the Federal reserve banks are allowed to secure possession of said gold, when the time comes that the conspirators aforesaid shall be able to use additional bank credits to their advantages in exploiting the people, the same would become the basis for additional bank inflation, directly and indirectly, to the extent of over a billion dollars upon which the banks would collect a great sum of interest, and the speculators would scalp even greater profits from additional manipulation of the markets, all of which would be added to the cost of living for the people to pay.

Thirteenth. That in furtherance of the said aforesaid conspiracy and as a part of the same the said five active working

members of the Federal Reserve Board, in their capacity as members, have arbitrarily at all times and with intent to prevent the legitimate business interests of the country securing the advantages that Congress sought to give by the passage of the Federal reserve act, and in connivance with the big reserve and central reserve banks controlled by the conspirators aforesaid, established rediscount rates for member banks desiring to borrow from Federal reserve banks above the rates charged by the reserve and central reserve banks, which creates an excuse for the member banks in the country to charge higher rates of interest to legitimate borrowers than they otherwise would; that the interest rates charged by the reserve and central reserve banks, on the one hand, and the higher rates charged by the Federal reserve banks on the other hand, is maintained at certain times when the conspirators aforesaid desire to draw the reserves of the country banks to the reserve and central reserve cities for the interest that these reserve banks pay on deposit balances and in anticipation of times when the country banks may wish to rediscount paper with said banks; that by following the arbitrary practice of rediscounts aforesaid the said conspirators are enabled to and do go on with their speculations, manipulate the markets, and exploit the people, and whenever they find themselves in financial stress they can raise the rates of interest in the reserve and central reserve banks, which they control, above the Federal reserve bank discount rates, thus forcing the country banks, which may have rediscounted with reserve banks in order to give accommodations to their borrowers, to rediscount with the Federal reserve banks to enable them to repay the reserve and central reserve banks, in order to create free money and credit for said conspirators to carry on their speculations; that the Federal reserve act contains several provisions which when applied under the "administrative" power of the Federal Reserve Board serve as a means of taking or imposing a toll in the nature of discriminatory interest rates in order to force a shift of money and credits from one section of the country to another, or out of the country and to foreign countries; that this discriminatory power vested in the Federal Reserve Board is willfully abused by the said five active working members of the said board for the benefit and in the interest of the said aforesaid conspirators; that the people of the United States have been injured to the extent of several billions of dollars by reason thereof.

Fourteenth. That in furtherance of said aforesaid conspiracy and to give the said aforesaid conspirators complete practical power to carry out and put into effect their purpose of making the masses of mankind absolutely dependent upon "big business," and in order to create industrial slaves of the masses, the said aforesaid conspirators did conspire and now conspire to have the Federal reserve act "administered" so as to enable the conspirators to coordinate all kinds of "big business" and to keep themselves in control of "big business," in order to amalgamate all of the "trusts" into one great trust in restraint and control of trade and commerce, and thus be able to exploit the masses and take from them their earnings, except what they would require for bare subsistence; that to that end and to give them power to accomplish the same said conspirators have marshaled all of the different kinds of "big business" and induced those in control to use their means and whatever kind of patronage and favors they have to give in such way as to promote the objects and purposes of said conspirators and to enslave the masses of humanity; that at the same time that the said conspirators marshal their own "big business" supporters by a coordination of all their interests they have used every trick and subterfuge possible to create friction among the masses and divide them into hostile contending factions, thus keeping the masses from coordinating their affairs to promote the general welfare; that the said aforesaid five active working members of the Federal Reserve Board have all the time, by a willful and wrongful "administration" of the Federal reserve act, aided and abetted the said aforesaid conspirators in promoting and carrying out the objects of their said conspiracy and have refused and failed to so administer the Federal reserve act as to have the same promote and operate in favor of the general welfare.

Fifteenth. That the Federal reserve act is void and unconstitutional, but that, notwithstanding, the conspirators aforesaid have so manipulated things as to prevent the question of constitutionality of the act from being brought before the courts.

CHARLES A. LINDBERGH.

Mr. SHERWOOD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I suppose my privilege stops now, does it?

The SPEAKER. It does.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I ask for five minutes in which to answer the question of the gentleman.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman asks five minutes. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SHERWOOD. I understand the gentleman to say the National City Bank now controls the official action of the Federal Reserve Board.

Mr. LINDBERGH. I said they have that effect, along with the other parties associated with them.

Mr. SHERWOOD. In case the Senate should sit as an impeachment court, you have evidence to establish that charge?

Mr. LINDBERGH. I want to say this: I have spent enough time and made enough investigation of this case to know that I can demonstrate—not accurately, I may say, but to a mathematical certainty—that the charges in this impeachment are substantially true. I may not be able to establish by direct proof that some of these meetings to which the impeachment refers were held, but that the charges are substantially true, I will certainly show.

Mr. SHERWOOD. That is, by substantial evidence?

Mr. LINDBERGH. By substantial evidence, and by effects which the business of this country demonstrates beyond question.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I ask leave to insert, following the reading of these articles, my remarks upon them and the questions that are incidentally involved in the impeachment articles.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Minnesota asks unanimous consent to extend his remarks in the RECORD. Is there objection?

Mr. SIEGEL. I object.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York objects.

Mr. KITCHIN. Mr. Chairman, I move that the impeachment articles be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and on that I demand the previous question.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from North Carolina moves that the impeachment articles be referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and on that he demands the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the motion to refer.

The question was taken, and the motion was agreed to.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATION BILL.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I call from the Speaker's table the bill H. R. 19119, the District of Columbia appropriation bill, with Senate amendments, and ask that the Senate amendments be disagreed to, and that the conferees be appointed on the part of the House.

Mr. MANN. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, I would like to call to the attention of the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. PAGE] amendment No. 98, on page 123 of the bill, which provides for increases in compensation. In the legislative appropriation bill, which bill is still in conference, in the House we agreed to a provision for an increase of 10 per cent on salaries less than \$1,200 and 5 per cent on salaries between \$1,200 and \$1,800, as I recall.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Yes.

Mr. MANN. That bill is still in conference. The Senate struck out the House provision in that bill and inserted the same provision in that bill which is inserted in this bill. The Agricultural appropriation bill carried the same provision as it passed the House that we agreed to in the legislative appropriation bill. The Senate has amended that. If we should just disagree to this Senate amendment, and send it to conference, it is not within the power of the conferees to report a provision that corresponds with what the House did on the legislative appropriation bill and the Agricultural appropriation bill, and if those provisions should remain in conference in those two bills the conferees on the part of the House in the District bill could not put them in.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I think the gentleman is entirely right.

Mr. MANN. I suggest to the gentleman that before sending the bill to conference he move to concur in Senate amendment No. 98, with an amendment striking out all of the amendment and inserting the same provisions that we have carried in the other bills, so that the matter will be in conference in this bill in order that whatever action is taken it may be uniform in the three bills.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I will say to the gentleman from Illinois that that is entirely agreeable to me, and in case it is the only way—

Mr. MANN. It is the only way by which it can be done.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. It is the only way, possibly, by which we can get uniformity.

Mr. MANN. It is the only possible way by which you can get uniformity unless you get unanimous consent or a rule.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Unless in conference upon the other bills the present Senate amendment were agreed to.

Mr. MANN. Certainly.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, the bill is not yet before the House, is it?

Mr. MANN. I have no objection to the matter being laid before the House without now disagreeing to all of the Senate amendments.

Mr. JOHNSON of Kentucky. Mr. Speaker, pending that, I would like to ask the gentleman from North Carolina if the House will be accorded a vote upon Senate amendment No. 97, relating to the tax upon intangible property?

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I will say to the gentleman that the House has that privilege now. Of course, if there is any expression on the part of the House that they want to vote, they will be given that opportunity before the conferees reach an agreement.

The SPEAKER. The Chair lays before the House the bill H. R. 19119, the District appropriation bill, with Senate amendments thereto.

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House disagree to all of the Senate amendments, excepting Senate amendment No. 98, on page 123, and Senate amendment No. 13.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield before that is done?

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. Yes.

Mr. FOSTER. Mr. Speaker, I observe there is a Senate amendment providing for a municipal hospital and to change the location of that hospital from Fourteenth Street and Upshur Street to Reservation No. 13, which means out here where is now located the Washington Asylum. For a long time there has been a contention here in the District with reference to this hospital, and after a considerable while and considerable opposition to the location of the hospital where it ought to go, if it is to be constructed, they have changed it to place it on what is called Reservation No. 13. I do not believe we ought to do that. In the first place, I think we ought not to build a hospital at all; but if it is to be built, then it seems to me we ought to agree on building the hospital where it ought to be built, and I hope the gentleman will not agree to any amendment at all, but if he has to agree to it, that he will not agree to report the provision locating the hospital on Reservation 13, but where it ought to go, regardless of what some people in the District may think is a wrong place to put it. We have no municipal hospital except the Washington Asylum.

I say this, that I do not think there is any place in the United States where the indigent poor who are sick are better taken care of than they are in the city of Washington. I think some improvement might be made in the Washington Asylum, as it exists now, but there has been a continual fight on the part of the residents of the District against any improvements of the surroundings or betterment of the conditions in the Washington Asylum, because they have hoped to force through Congress this municipal hospital; and then, after Congress talked of building it where it ought to be placed, if it is going to be built at all, they undertake to force that hospital away from that place and back up here on the Anacostia River, or whatever that branch of the Potomac is called. I do not think a few people, who have, as they think, some esthetic notions about this matter, ought to be able to dillydally around for years and finally force Congress to do something that is wrong because of these notions of what they think should be done and what they think should not be done. I hope the gentleman, in the first place, will not agree to this amendment at all, but if he can not get along without it, that he might give this House an opportunity to vote upon it, because there is some difference in opinion in the House with reference to whether the hospital should be built at all or not.

Mr. DYER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PAGE of North Carolina. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DYER. I would like to know why the gentleman from Illinois said we should not have a municipal hospital in the city of Washington, in view of the fact that we have none that is at all suitable, and that the one we do have is in a dilapidated building, without any means whatever of giving decent treatment to the people therein?

Mr. FOSTER. I will say to the gentleman that the Government has two buildings out there worth half a million dollars fit for a hospital.

Mr. DYER. Out where?

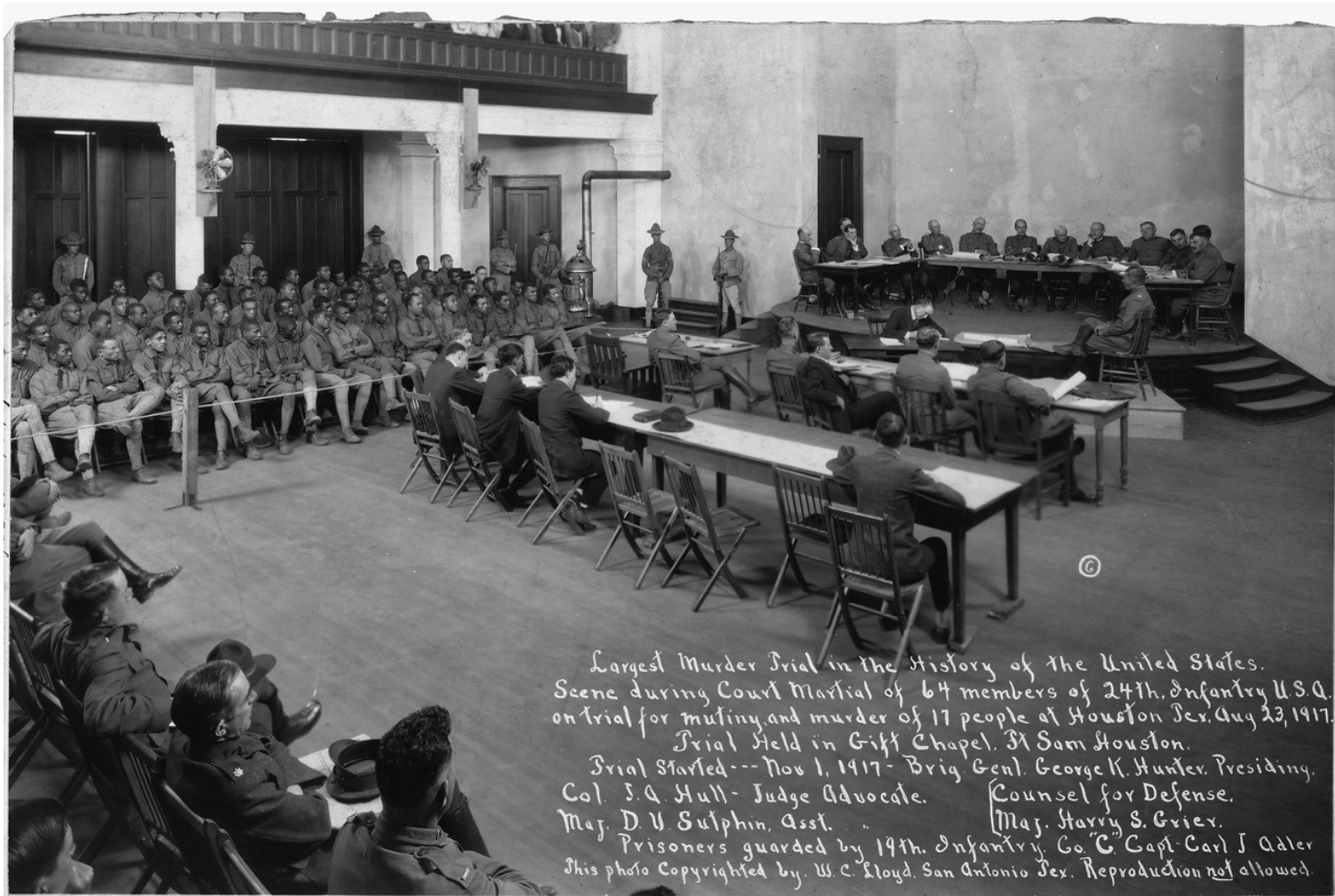


U.S. Congressman F. Oscar Callaway (Democratic Party-Texas)

“In March, 1915, the J.P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interests, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world, and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States, and the sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press of the United States. These 12 men worked the problem out by selecting 179 newspapers, and then began, by an elimination process, to retain only those necessary for the purpose of controlling the general policy of the daily press throughout the country. They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. The 25 papers were agreed upon; emissaries were sent to purchase the policy, national and international, of these papers; an agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month, an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers... This policy also included the suppression of everything in opposition to the wishes of the interests served.”

– U.S. Congressman F. Oscar Callaway (Democratic Party-Texas, March 4, 1911-March 3, 1917), in *The Congressional Record* for February 9, 1917, Volume 54, p. 2947-2948

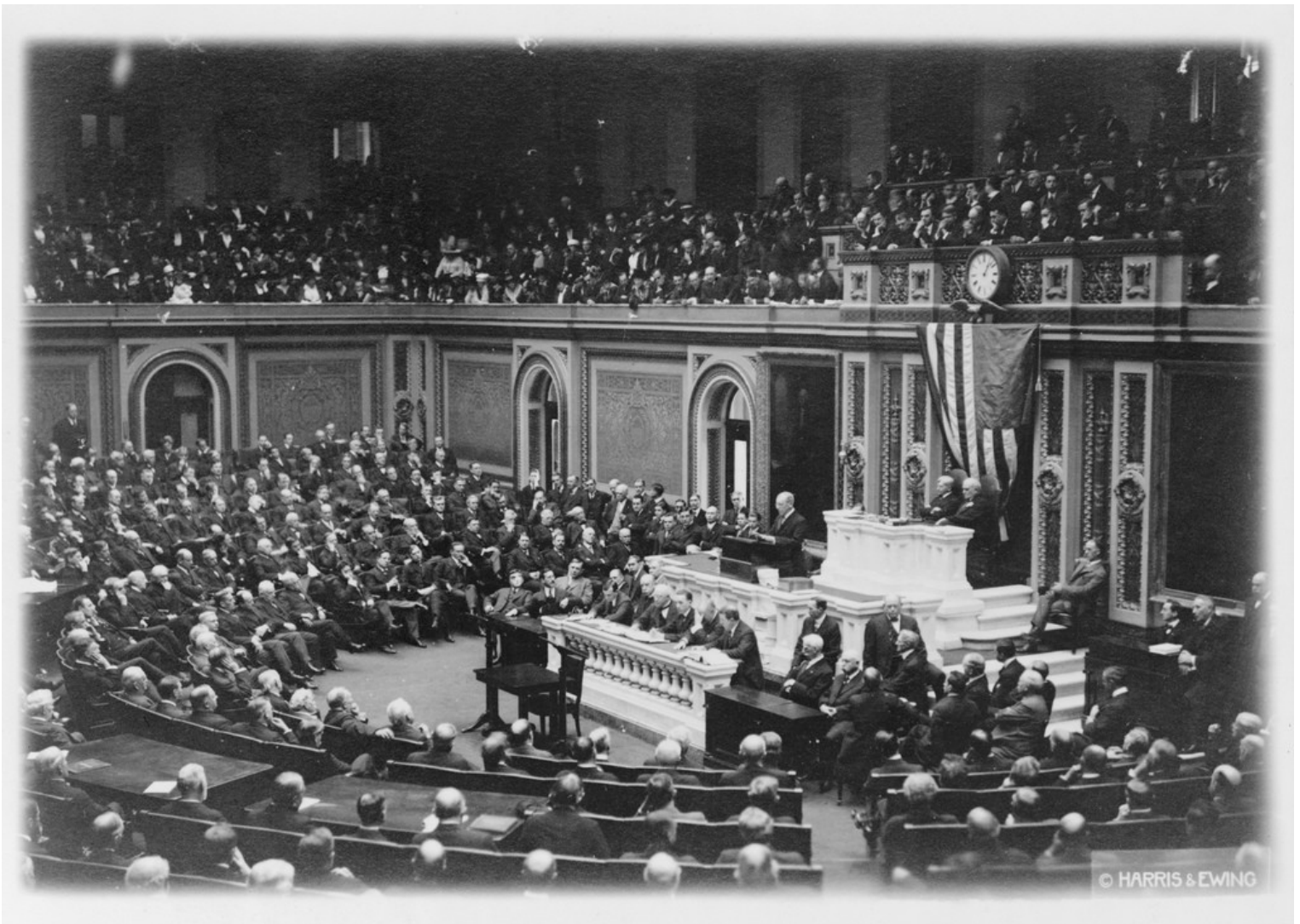
Source: *The Nazi Hydra in America: Suppressed History of a Century* by Glen Yeadon and John Hawkins, p. 99



The full caption for this item is as follows: Largest Murder Trial in the History of the United States. Scene during Court Martial of 64 members of the 24th Infantry United States of America on trial for mutiny and murder of 17 people at Houston, Texas on August 23, 1917. Trial held in Gift Chapel at Fort Sam Houston. Trial started November 1, 1917, Brigadier General George K. Hunter presiding. Colonel J.A. Hull, Judge Advocate, Council for Defense, Major Harvy S. Grier. Major D.V. Sutphin, Assistant Advocate. Prisoners guarded by 19th Infantry Company C, Captain Carl J. Adler. (A total of 19 soldiers would be executed, and 41 soldiers were given life sentences.) (Photo: National Archives)

The **Houston Riot** of 1917, or **Camp Logan Riot**, was a mutiny by 156 African American soldiers of the Third Battalion of the all-black Twenty-fourth United States Infantry. In the spring of 1917, shortly after the United States declared war on Imperial Germany, the War Department, taking advantage of the temperate climate and newly opened Houston Ship Channel, ordered two military installations built in Harris County, Texas — Camp Logan and Ellington Field. To guard the Camp Logan construction site, the Army on July 27, 1917, ordered the Third Battalion of the Twenty-fourth United States Infantry Regiment to travel to Houston by train from their camp at Columbus, New Mexico, accompanied by seven white commissioned officers. Around noon August 23, 1917, two Houston police officers stormed into the home of an African-American woman, allegedly looking for someone in the neighborhood, after firing a warning shot outside. They physically assaulted her, then dragged her partially clad [clothed] into the street, all in view of her five small children. The woman began screaming, demanding to know why she was being arrested, and a crowd began to gather. A soldier from the 24th Infantry stepped forward to ask what was going on. The police officers promptly beat him to the ground and arrested him as well. Their official reports and later news reports stated the soldier was charged with interfering with the arrest of a publicly drunk female. Later that afternoon, Corporal Charles Baltimore went to the Houston police station to investigate the arrest, as well as beating of another black soldier, and also to attempt to gain the release of the soldier. An argument began which led to violence, and Corporal Baltimore was beaten, shot at, and himself arrested by the police. **The Camp Logan riot began the evening of August 23, when 156 angry soldiers ignored their officers' orders, stole weapons from the camp depot and marched on the city of Houston. They were met outside the city by the police and a mob of armed citizens, frightened by the reports of a mutiny. A virtual race riot began, which left 20 people dead - four soldiers, four policemen, and 12 civilians.** Order was restored the next day, and the War Department disarmed the soldiers. The Third Battalion was sent by rail back to New Mexico. Martial law was declared in Houston, and the Third Battalion was not only returned to Columbus, New Mexico, but the entire regiment was later transferred to the Philippines. Seven of its soldiers agreed to testify in exchange for clemency.

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houston_Riot_\(1917\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houston_Riot_(1917))



Woodrow Wilson addresses Congress in 1917. Woodrow Wilson's campaign slogan during the 1916 presidential election was "He kept us out of the war".

Major Events in 1917, the "Year of the Snake":

- January-March 1917 – Russian communist Leon Trotsky lives in New York City
- February 3, 1917 – United States of America (Wilson administration) severs diplomatic ties with Germany
- February 5, 1917 – Mexico adopts a new Constitution
- February 12, 1917 – U.S. Congressman Charles Lindbergh Sr. issues articles of impeachment against Federal Reserve
- March 5, 1917 (Monday) – U.S. President Woodrow Wilson is inaugurated in front of the U.S. Capitol for a second term
- March 11, 1917 – British army captures Baghdad (Iraq) from the Ottoman Empire
- March 15, 1917 – Czar Nicholas II of Russia abdicates his throne
- April 6, 1917 – United States of America declares war on Germany
- April 16, 1917 – Russian communist Vladimir Lenin departs from Switzerland and travels to Russia via Germany by train
- May 1917 – Former U.S. Secretary of State Elihu Root and other members of the Root Mission meet with Lenin and Trotsky in Russia
- May 18, 1917 – Selective Service Act is passed by the U.S. Congress
- June 12, 1917 – King Constantine I of Greece abdicates his throne
- June 15, 1917 – Espionage Act is passed by the U.S. Congress
- June 15, 1917 – Russian-born Jewish anarchist Emma Goldman is arrested in New York City for violating the Espionage Act
- July 1, 1917 – A labor dispute and an ensuing race riot in East St. Louis, Illinois leaves 250 people dead
- July 21, 1917 – Alexander Fyodorovich Kerensky is appointed Prime Minister of Russia
- August 14, 1917 – Republic of China declares war against Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- November 2, 1917 – British Foreign Secretary Arthur J. Balfour announces 'Balfour Declaration' concerning Jewish 'national home'
- November 7, 1917 – Bolshevik Revolution begins in Petrograd [St. Petersburg], Russia; Kerensky abdicates as Prime Minister
- December 7, 1917 – United States of America declares war on Austria-Hungary
- December 9, 1917 – British army captures Jerusalem from the Ottoman Empire
- December 11, 1917 – British Field Marshal Edmund Allenby enters Jerusalem
- December 22, 1917 – Russia opens separate peace negotiations with Germany at Brest-Litovsk
- 1917 – American Civil Liberties Union (originally founded as National Civil Liberties Bureau) is established

From (Post-Stalin) Russia With Love: Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Andropov, & Gorbachev



Soviet Russian Commissar Leonid Brezhnev and his interpreter Andrei Vavilov observe Hollywood actress Jill St. John while visiting President Richard Nixon at a pool party held at Richard Nixon's home in San Clemente, California on June 25, 1973. Jill St. John co-starred with Sean Connery in the James Bond movie *Diamonds Are Forever*. (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)



Left photo: Leonid Brezhnev watches Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (left) make a phone call in 1963.



Meeting with Harry Truman.

Right photo: Anatoly Dobrynin greets former President Harry Truman.



Frank Sinatra (far right) prepares to shake hands with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev during Khrushchev's tour of Hollywood. The woman standing next to Nikita Khrushchev is Shirley MacLaine. The man standing next to Nikita Khrushchev is Louis Jourdan. The young man wearing glasses is Nikita Khrushchev's son Sergei Khrushchev.



Eleanor Roosevelt, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations, chats with Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Soviet Foreign Minister and chief delegate before the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, at the New York City World's Fair building in New York City on October 23, 1946. The man standing in the middle is Andrei A. Gromyko, Soviet delegate to the U.N. Security Council. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Soviet envoy Andrei Vishinsky (left), Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov (center), and Soviet envoy Andrei Gromyko attend a meeting at the United Nations in New York City in October 1946. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Eleanor Roosevelt shakes hands with Soviet Russian diplomat Andrei Gromyko at the United Nations in New York City on October 14, 1952. Eleanor Roosevelt was not a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Eleanor Roosevelt, an American representative to the United Nations, greets Soviet delegate Andrei Gromyko, the Soviet Russian Ambassador to Great Britain, as they meet at the opening of the seventh annual United Nations General Assembly, held in the new multi-million dollar permanent UN Headquarters, in New York City on October 14, 1952. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



ABOVE Eleanor Roosevelt and Nikita Khrushchev at UN headquarters in 1959.

Eleanor Roosevelt appears with Soviet despot Nikita Khrushchev at the United Nations headquarters in New York City in 1959. Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, is seen standing next to Khrushchev on the far right.



Yugoslavia's Communist President Josip Broz Tito shakes hands with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at United Nations General Assembly in New York City on September 26, 1960. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Britain's Prime Minister Harold MacMillan talks with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at the United Nations in New York City on September 29, 1960. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B0116-0010-038
Foto: Sturm, Horst | 16. Januar 1963

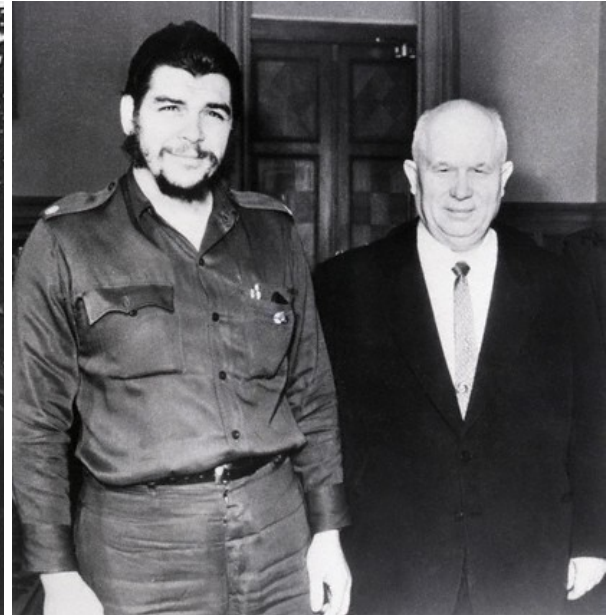
Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (left) appears with East German Commissar Walter Ulbricht at the Werner-Seelenbinder-Halle in East Berlin, East Germany on January 16, 1963 (Deutsches Bundesarchiv [German Federal Archive])



John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet commissars Anatoly Dobrynin and Andrei Gromyko.



Left photo: President John F. Kennedy greets Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Vienna in June 1961. (Photo: National Archives)



Right photo: Ernesto "Che" Guevara (left), the head of Cuba's Economic Mission, visits Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow on December 24, 1961. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



U.S. President John F. Kennedy (2nd left) shakes hands with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at the Vienna Summit in Vienna, Austria on June 4, 1961. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is seen standing on the far right.
(Photo by Pictorial Parade/Archive Photos/Getty Images)



President John F. Kennedy meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko and Anatoly Dobrynin at the White House during Missile Crisis on October 18, 1962. ([White House photo by Abbie Rowe](#))



Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin (right) meets with President Richard Nixon at the Oval Office in Washington, D.C. on December 26, 1973. ([Associated Press photo](#))



Kozlov, Brezhnev, and Father in the Great Hall of the Kremlin. Behind them are Viktor Vasilyevich Grishin and Kirilenko. Moscow, 1963.

Source: *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* by Sergei N. Khrushchev



The state visit to China. Bulganin, Mao Zedong, and Father. Beijing, 1954.

Source: *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* by Sergei N. Khrushchev



A few months later, after the fall of Khrushchev: Andropov between two Communist leaders, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai and Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin. Far left, Pham Van Dong of North Vietnam. (UPI Photo)

Yuri Andropov was the Chairman of the KGB; Pham Van Dong was one of the negotiators for North Vietnam at the Paris peace conference during the Vietnam War. (UPI Photo)

(Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



Nikita Khrushchev celebrates with his Indonesian comrade Sukarno.



Nikita Khrushchev and Sukarno light their cigarettes at a party.



With braggadocio Khrushchev conceals his grave political problems at the Twenty-second Party Congress, Moscow, October 1961. He is cheered by (left to right) Anastas Mikoyan, Leonid Brezhnev, Frol Kozlov, Mikhail Suslov, and Alexei Kosygin.

(Source: *The Crisis Years: Kennedy and Khrushchev, 1960-1963* by Michael R. Beschloss)



Dignitaries enjoy champagne toast after signing of nuclear test ban agreement by the U.S., Great Britain, and the Soviet Union in the Kremlin's St. Catherine's Hall in Moscow on August 5, 1963. Left to right are Sen. William Fulbright (D-Arkansas), Sen. George Aiken (R-Vermont), Sen. Leverett Saltonstall (R-Massachusetts), Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minnesota), Adlai E. Stevenson, U.S. Representative to the United Nations, UN Secretary General U Thant, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Humphrey and Stevenson were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Fulbright was a Rhodes Scholar. (Photo: © Bettmann/CORBIS)



This Russian nuclear power plant is situated near Smolensk city. Its power generation potential is 3 Megawatt and it was constructed in 8 years, from 1982 to 1990. The plant was designed for four nuclear reactors, but because of the panic after the Chernobyl accident, the fourth block has not been completed. (Source: <http://englishrussia.com/?p=2660>)



Leonid Brezhnev, Yuri Andropov, and Andrei Gromyko (foreground, wearing glasses)

(Copyright 1982 Sipa Press from Black Star)

(Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



President Richard Nixon plays arm wrestling with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev.



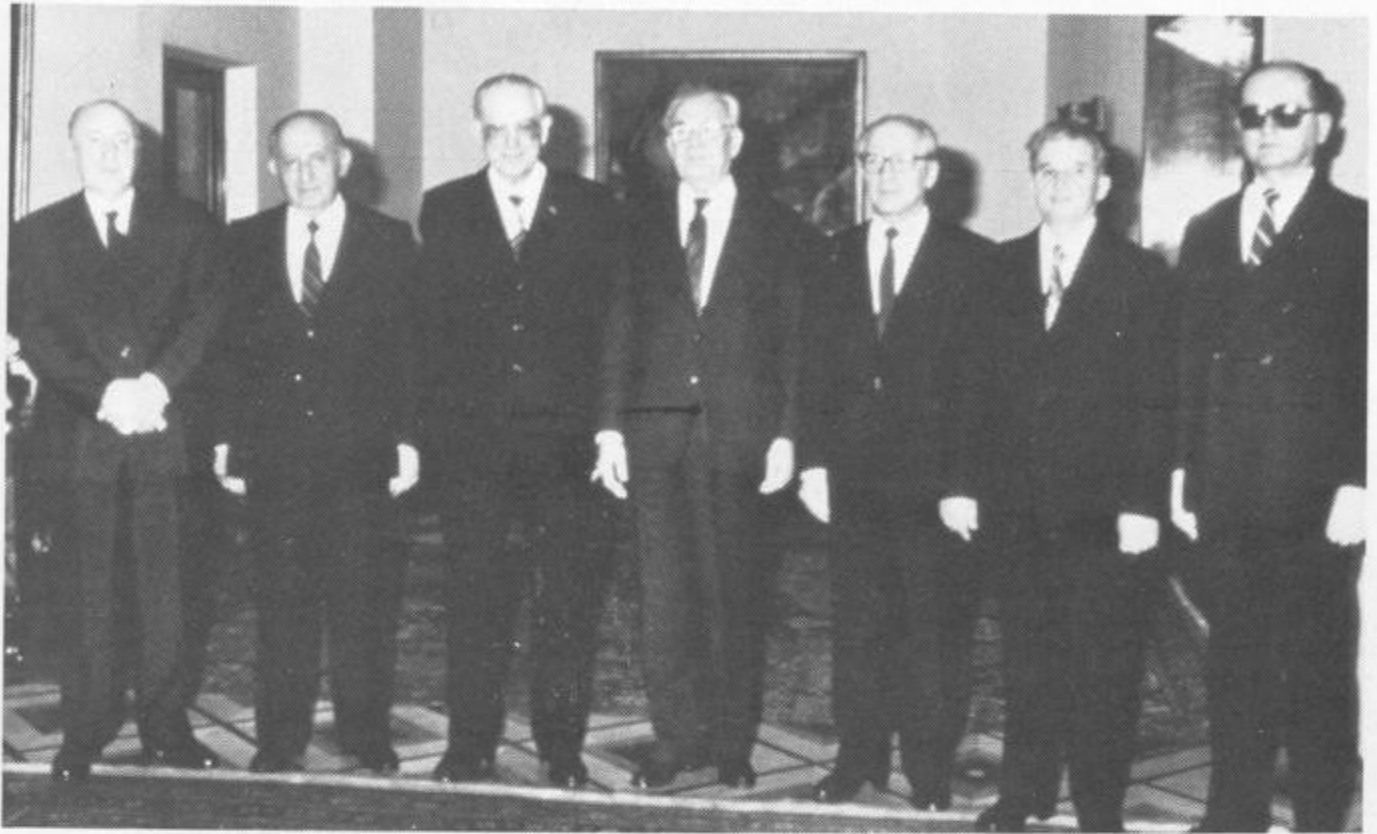
Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi of Iran (center) and his wife Farah Pahlavi (right) greet Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow, Soviet Union in 1970. (Photo: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Fpmoscow1969.jpg>)



Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (center left), Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev (center), and , Soviet bureaucrat Anastas Mikoyan (center right) make a joint appearance at the Lenin Mausoleum in Moscow in May 1975.
(© Dmitri Baltermants/The Dmitri Baltermants Collection/Corbis)



Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev meets with Erich Honecker, East Germany on April 21, 1986.
(German Federal Archives)



Andropov with the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries. His protégé during the Hungarian revolution, Janos Kadar; the Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov, whose daughter, the moving spirit of Bulgarian nationalism, died suddenly at the age of thirty-eight; Andropov; the Soviet puppets Gustav Husak of Czechoslovakia and Erich Honecker of East Germany; the dissidents—Rumanian President Nicolai Ceausescu and General Jaruzelski, the savior of Poland (1983). (Black Star)

(Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



Andropov (circled), arriving in Budapest eight years after the Hungarian revolution (1964). In the foreground, with raised hand among the well-wishers, is Khrushchev. (UPI

(Source: Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



Fidel Castro (left) receives some advice from Wojciech Jaruzelski (right) in Poland in May 1972.



Aleksei Kosygin, Leonid Brezhnev, and Nikolai Podgorny in the front. In the back, Minister of Defense Dmitri Ustinov and KGB Chairman Yuri Andropov (smiling). This photo was taken in 1976 at the Vnukovo Airport in Moscow. (UPI Photo)
 (Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



Soviet Russia's Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev (left) and Soviet envoy Nikolai Bulganin (right) meet with Yugoslavia's Commissar Josip Broz Tito in Belgrade, Yugoslavia in June 1955. (Ralph Crane/Time Life)



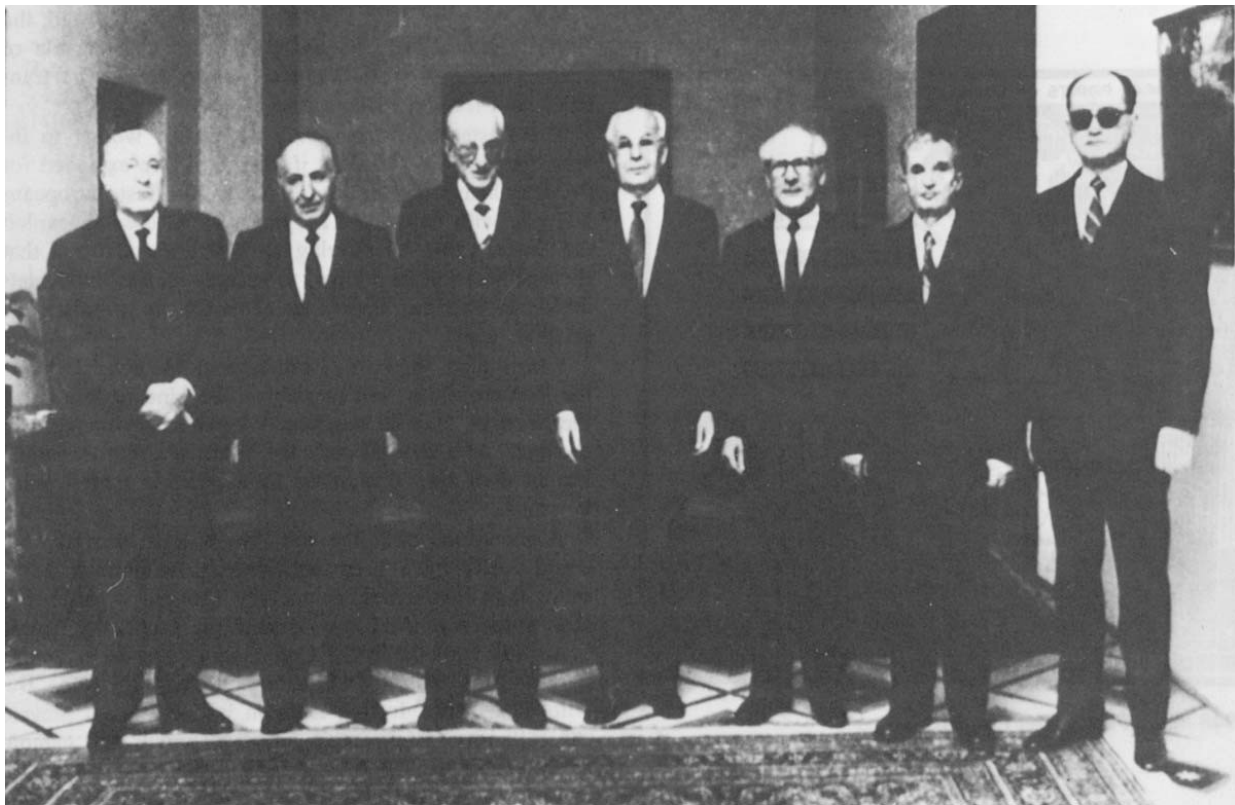
Exhausted Leonid Brezhnev gets escorted by Erich Honecker (glasses, left) and a communist aide after making a speech in East Berlin in October 1979. (UPI Photo)

(Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)

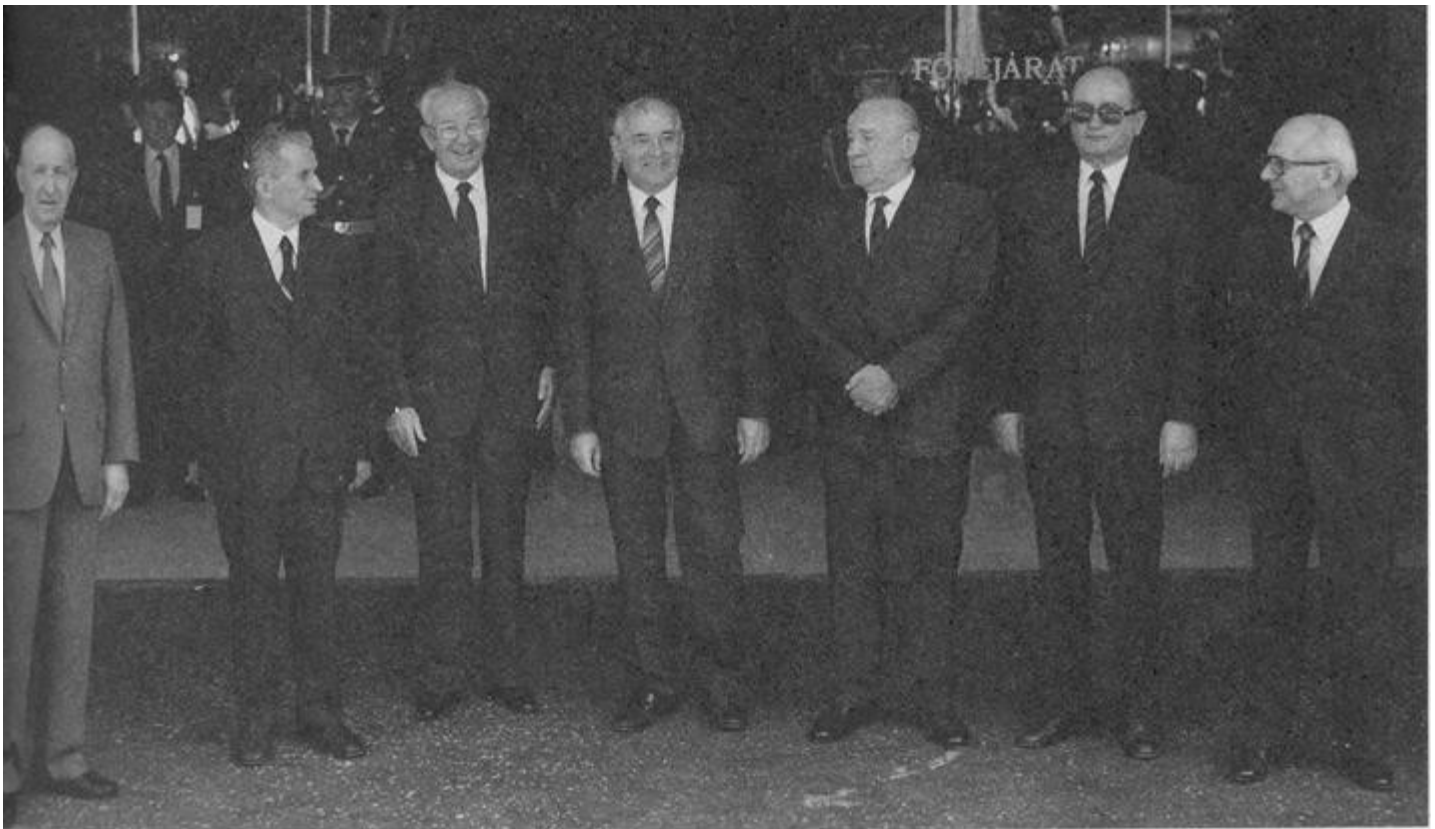


Soviet Marshal Kulikov, Polish dictator Wojciech Jaruzelski (sunglasses), and East German Minister of Defense Gen. Hoffman discuss their views on the Cold War during military exercises of the Warsaw Pact forces in 1981. (Copyright 1981 Sipa Press from Black Star)

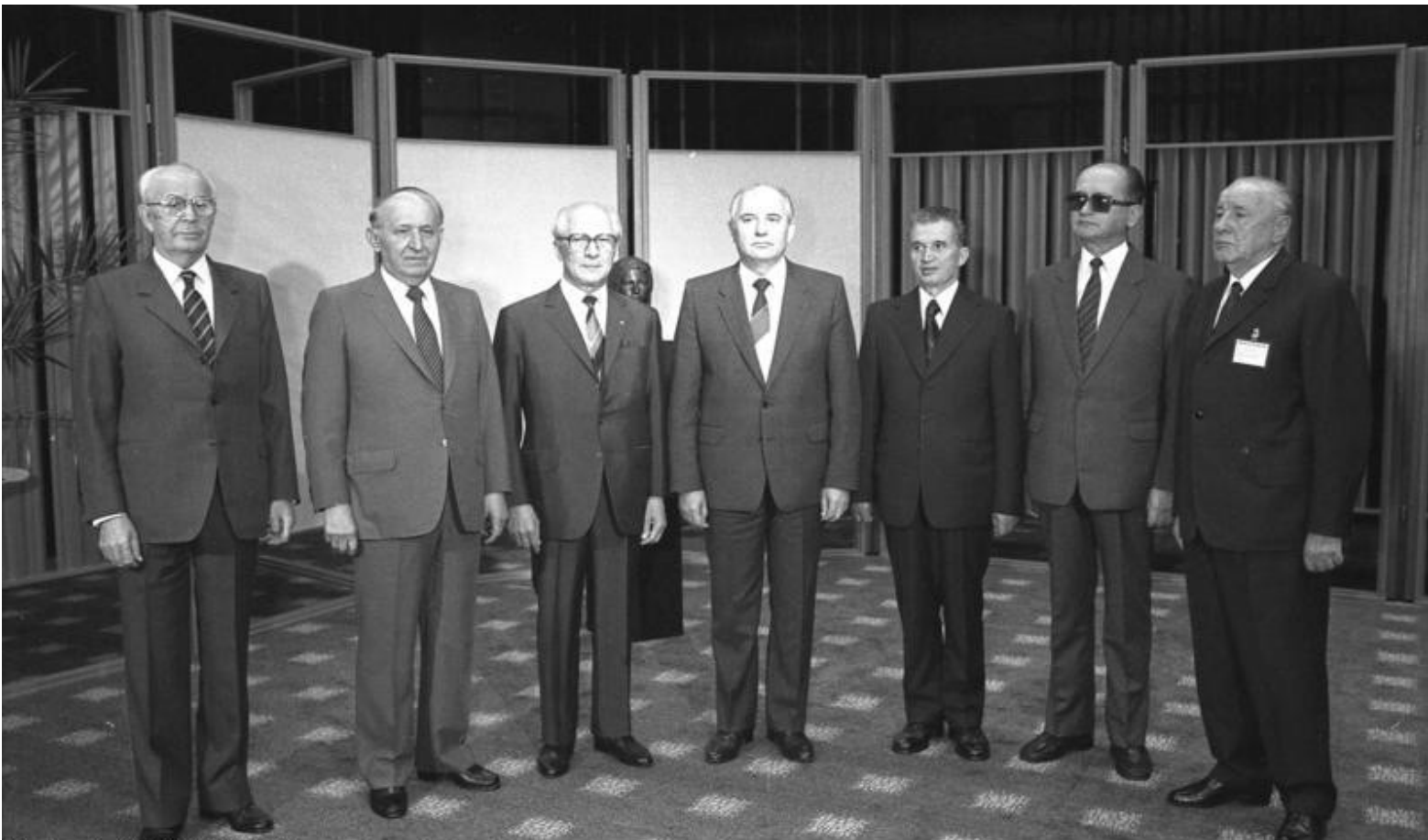
(Source: *Yuri Andropov: A Secret Passage into the Kremlin* by Vladimir Solovyov and Elena Klepikova)



Warsaw Pact delegates stand together at the January 1983 summit meetings in Prague. Soviet dictator Yuri Andropov is standing third from left. Romania's dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and Polish dictator Wojciech Jaruzelski are standing on the far right. ([Wide World Photo](#))



The Founding Fathers. At a Warsaw Pact meeting in 1986, the youthful Soviet leader Mikhael Gorbachev (*center*) stood out among the aging Eastern European leaders, left to right: Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria, Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, Gustáv Husák of Czechoslovakia, János Kádár of Hungary, Wojciech Jaruzelski of Poland and Erich Honecker of East Germany.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1987-0529-029
Foto: Mittelstädt, Rainer | Mai 1987

Communist heads of state stand together for a portrait in March 1987. Left to right: Gustav Husak (Czechoslovakia), Todor Zhivkov (Bulgaria), Erich Honecker (East Germany), Mikhail Gorbachev (Soviet Russia), Nicolae Ceausescu (Romania), Wojciech Jaruzelski (Poland), and Janos Kadar (Hungary). (Photo: German Federal Archives)



Cuba's despot Fidel Castro socializes with Nikita Khrushchev, Leonid Brezhnev, and Soviet ambassador to Cuba Alekseyev (wearing glasses). [Note: Additional pictures of Fidel Castro can be found in the section "Fidel Castro & The Cuban Revolution".]



Yugoslavia's despot Josip Broz Tito walks with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.



Yasser Arafat meets Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev.



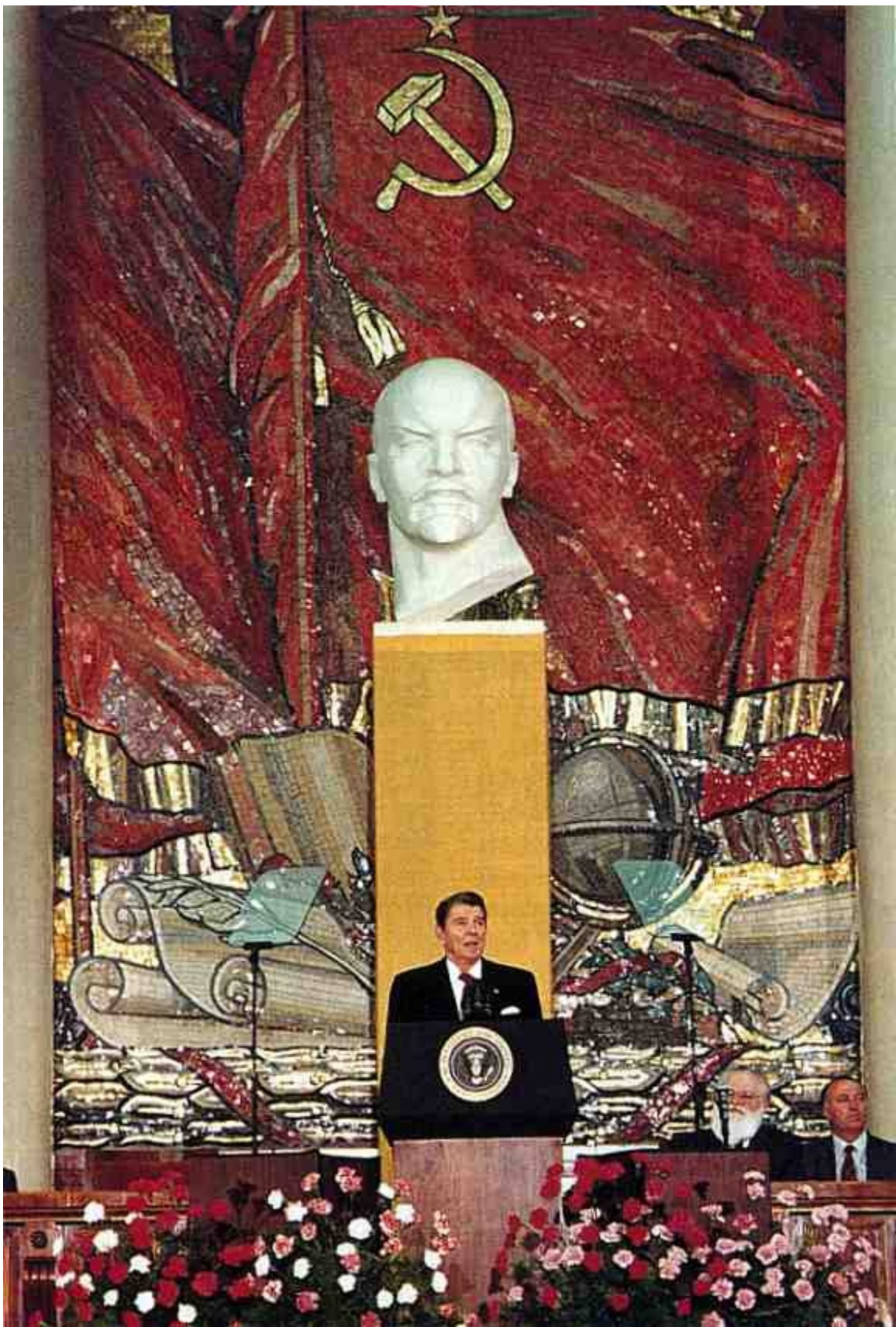
Josip Broz Tito applauds with Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev.



Soviet Russia's Commissar Leonid Brezhnev (front, second from left) and East Germany's Commissar Erich Honecker (front, right) attend a ceremony marking the 30th anniversary of the establishment of East Germany in East Berlin on October 7, 1979. (© Régis Bossu/Sygma/Corbis)



Cuba's Communist chief Fidel Castro (wearing sunglasses and beard), Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (center, gray cap), and Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (standing next to Gromyko) stand together during the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution in Moscow in 1987. (© Peter Turnley/CORBIS)



President Ronald Reagan delivers a speech in front of a bust of Soviet Godfather Vladimir Lenin at the Moscow State University in the Soviet Union on May 31, 1988.



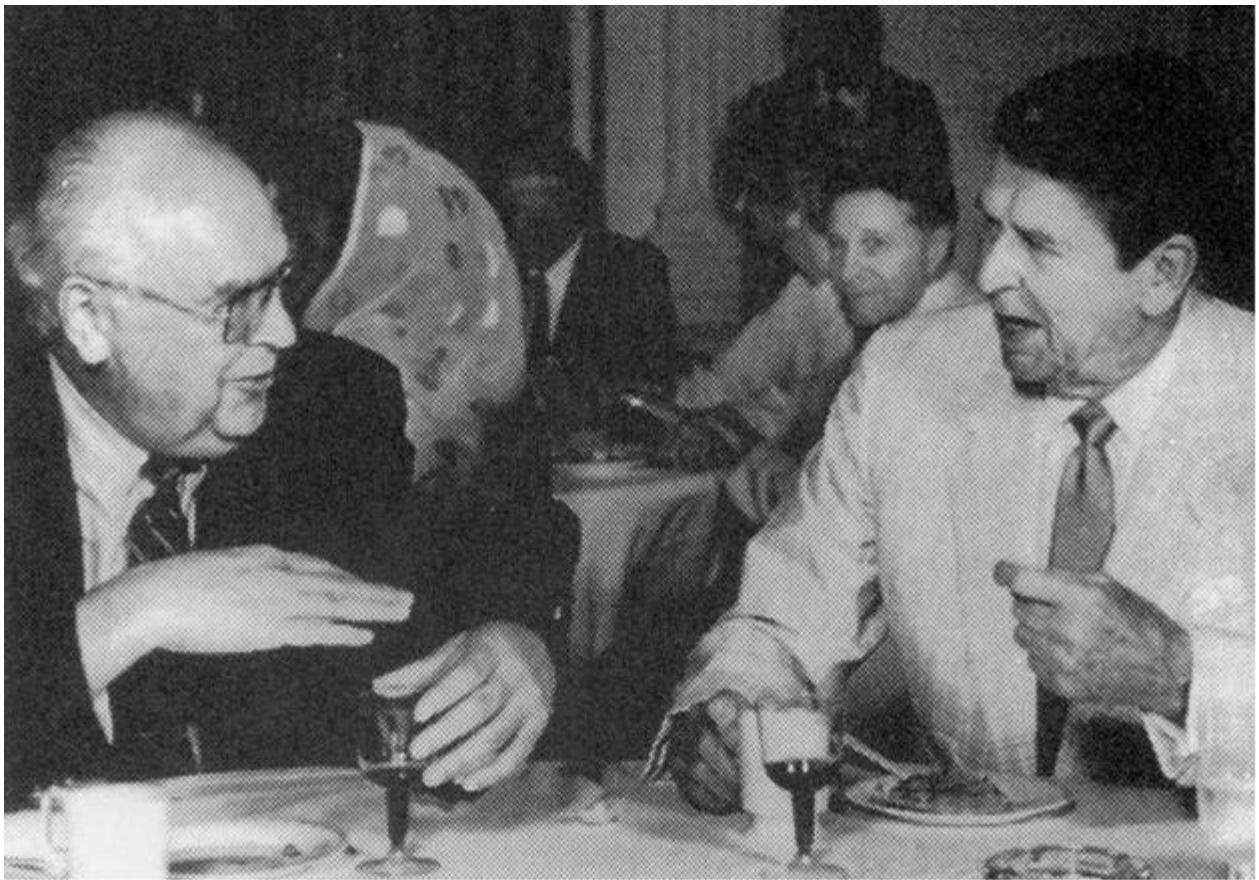
C37408-16A, President Reagan and Soviet General Secretary Gorbachev meet at Hofdi House during the Reykjavik Summit. Iceland. 10/11/86. (Ronald Reagan Library) <http://www.reagan.utexas.edu/archives/photographs/large/c37408-16a.jpg>



Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's first visit to Washington, September 1987

L to R, far side of table: Kenneth Adelman, Director, Arms and Disarmament Agency; Ambassador Matlock; Rosanne Ridgeway, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Secretary of State George Schultz; President Reagan; Vice President Bush

L to R, near side of table: Soviet Ambassador Dubinin; Eduard Shevardnadze; A. Bessmertnykh



President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin enjoy a barbecue dinner in July 1984. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



U.S. President Ronald Reagan and U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz (sitting on Reagan's right) meet with Anatoly Dobrynin at the White House in 1986. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



Paul Nitze greets U.S. President Ronald Reagan before meeting with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev.



President Ronald Reagan shakes hands with Soviet General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev at a plenary meeting at the Soviet Mission during the Geneva Summit in Geneva, Switzerland on November 20, 1985. (Photo: [Ronald Reagan Presidential Library](#))



Gorbachev taking the oath of office as the first president of the Soviet Union on March 15, 1990 (TASS)



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-1986-0416-418
Foto: Reiche, Hartmut | 16. April 1986

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev stands in front of the Brandenburg Gate in East Berlin on April 16, 1986.
(Photo: German Federal Archives)

“Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement towards a **new world order**.”

– Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech delivered at the United Nations in December 1988

August Coup and Fall of the Soviet Union (1991)



President of the RSFSR Boris Yeltsin speaks to the crowd atop a tank near the building of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR (Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic) in Moscow on August 19, 1991 during the August Coup. (Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



Russian citizens protest in the streets of Moscow during the failed August Coup in August 1991. A Soviet Red Army BTR-70 personnel carrier is surrounded by the demonstrators. The failed Communist uprising lasted from 19–21 August 1991.

The August Coup Plotters: Members of the State Committee on the State of Emergency (“The Gang of Eight”)



Gennady Yanayev (1937-2010)
Vice President of the Soviet Union (1990-1991)



Valentin Pavlov (1937-2003)
Premier of the Soviet Union (14 January 1991 – 22 August 1991);
Finance Minister of the Soviet Union (17 July 1989 – 26 December 1990)



Vladimir Kryuchkov (1924-2007)
Chairman of the KGB (1988-1991)



Dmitry Yazov (b. 1923)
Defense Minister of the Soviet Union (30 May 1987 – 22 August 1991); Marshal of the Soviet Union



Boris Pugo (1937-1991)
Interior Minister of the Soviet Union (1 December 1990 – 22 August 1991)



Oleg Baklanov (b. 1932)
First Deputy Chairman of the Defense Council of the USSR



Vasily Starodubtsev (1931-2011)
Chairman of the Peasants' Union of the USSR



Alexander Tizyakov (b. 1926)
President of the Association of State Enterprises

Note: Boris Pugo committed “suicide” on August 22, 1991 to avoid arrest while the other seven members were arrested.



On August 19, 1991, the GKChP, an emergency committee of hard-line communists, attempted a coup d'état to overthrow Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and halt his reform plans. (Photo: <http://en.ria.ru/photolents/20110819/165924661.html>)



A group of Russian protesters stand on the barricades in front of the White House in Moscow on August 21, 1991
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



A protestor attack a Soviet soldier near the White House in Moscow on August 19, 1991
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



Soviet tanks near St. Basil's Cathedral and the Spasskaya Tower, August 19, 1991
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



A soldier waving a flag and sitting on a tank, while the rest of the military equipment was taken away from the streets after the suppression of the coup, August 21, 1991. The leaders of the coup left the capital or committed suicide.
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



The demolition of the monument to Felix Dzerzhinsky on Lubyanka Square in Moscow, August 22, 1991
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



A young Lithuanian girl sitting on a statue of Vladimir Lenin in Vilnius, Lithuania on September 1, 1991
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



President George H.W. Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev sign the START Treaty in Moscow, Soviet Russia on **July 31, 1991** as U.S. Secretary of State James A. Baker III (left) and a Soviet official look on.
(Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



American President George H.W. Bush (left) and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev shake hands during a summit held before the start of the 1991 Madrid Peace Conference in Madrid, Spain on **October 29, 1991**. The two leaders sponsored the 1991 conference for the Middle East, which was the first time Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, and the Palestinians all came together for negotiations. (Photo: Pascal Le Segretain/Sygma/Corbis)



The demonstration against the government, when 500,000 people gathered on Manege Square in Moscow on March 10, 1991.
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



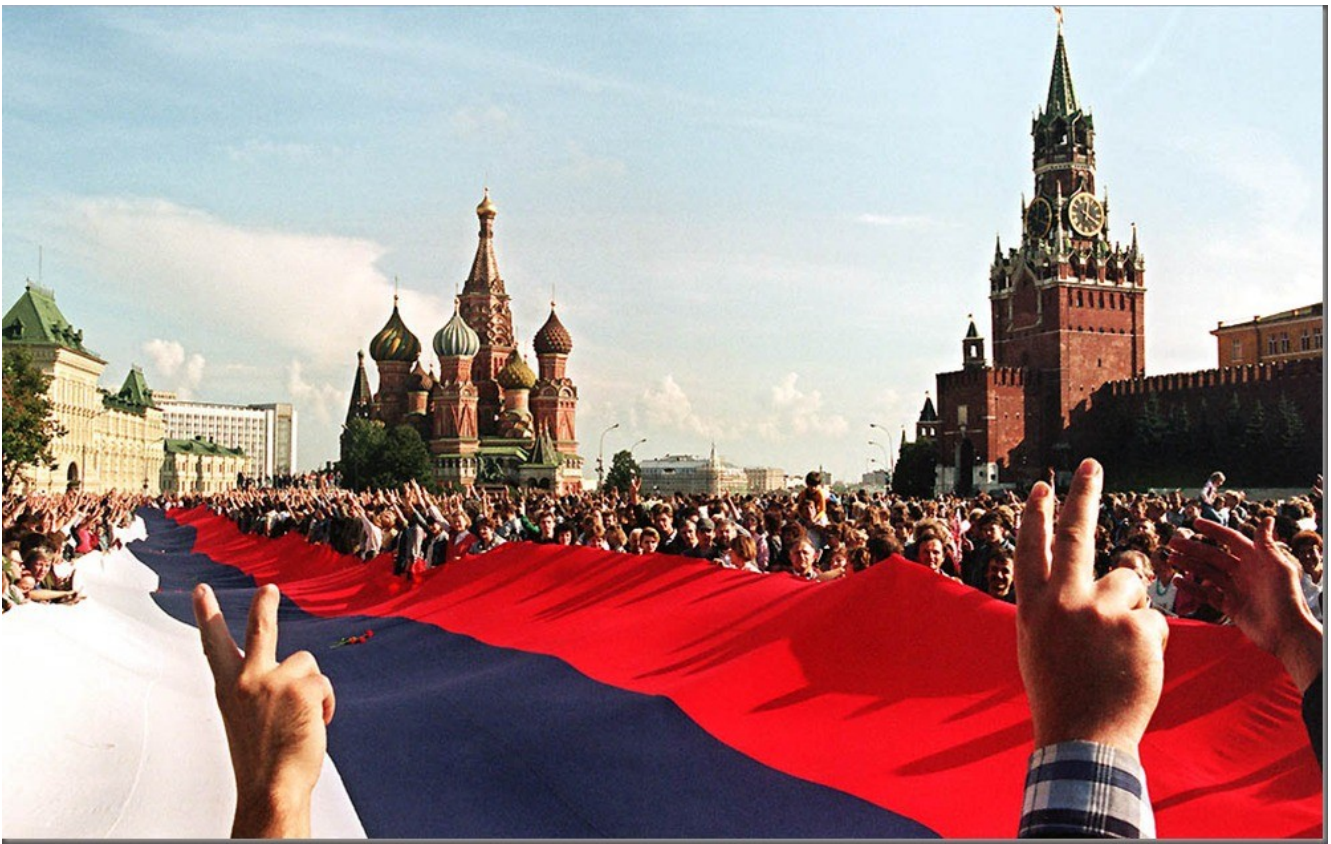
Mikhail Gorbachev standing with his “colleagues” at the ceremonial lighting of the fire at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin, May, 1991. Soviet Minister of Defense Marshal Dmitry Yazov is seen standing on the far left.
(Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



Mikhail Gorbachev announces his resignation as President of the Soviet Union on Christmas Day, December 25, 1991. (ITAR-TASS)



Russian troops surround the burned-out Russian Parliament building in Moscow in October 1993. (Abbas - Magnum Photos)



Russians celebrate in honor of the failure of the August Coup and in memory of the Russians who were killed in the August Coup. (Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)



The Soviet Red Flag is displayed atop the Kremlin and Red Square on Saturday evening, December 21, 1991. A new Russian Flag was raised atop the Kremlin and Red Square on New Year's Eve. (Photo: <http://om911.com/life-in-the-ussr-what-was-it-like.html>)

Russia: Gorbachev Reflects On The Legacy Of The Coup

PRAGUE, August 18, 2006 (RFE/RL) --Fifteen years after the failed coup that triggered the collapse of the Soviet Union and transformed his own life, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev talks to RFE/RL's North Caucasus Service about the events of August 1991 and their legacy.

RFE/RL: In his annual address to the Federal Assembly in 2005, Russian President Vladimir Putin called the collapse of the Soviet Union "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century." Do you agree with such an interpretation of our recent history?

Mikhail Gorbachev: I have said this on many occasions, and I will say it again: I agree. When, during a period of widespread reform, glasnost came along and lit up the darker corners of the situation in our country, it seemed as though all of society started moving and talking. It turned out that the people had something to say and that they had someone to speak to. At this time I had already been saying that the way of democracy, glasnost, and economic reform was the way to go.

Yet I also warned against the destructive nature of what was happening. Things certainly needed to change, but we did not need to destroy that which had been built by previous generations. We had to deprive ourselves of some things, yes, but this was the unfortunate cost. After the putsch, when the real danger of the country coming apart arose, I continued to speak out in the same vein. I emphasized that the dissolution of a country that was not only powerful, but that, during perestroika, demonstrated that it was peaceful and that it accepted the basic principles of democracy, would be a tragedy. The end of the Cold War presented us with an unprecedented opportunity to pursue a new, peaceful policy.

RFE/RL: Some observers think that the State Committee for the Emergency Situation (GKChP) was the natural result of events then going on in the country, an effort to restrain the destructive processes that had arisen as a result of a systemic crisis of state management that, in turn, was created by ill-considered and sporadic reforms. Many of the participants of the so-called GKChP insist that this was the case. In your opinion, how fair is this point of view?

Gorbachev: It is nonsense. The natural result of events was the well-tuned process that was already under way in the spring of 1991. There was already the crisis that arose when people had to wait in long lines to purchase basic everyday goods. But in the big picture, after a long period of deliberation and debate, the anti-crisis program had finally started to materialize. Interestingly, it started out as a program initiated by the cabinet ministers, but then it was joined by all the republics and even the Baltic states, with their own special views on certain questions. The Baltic states didn't actually sign the document, but they decided to implement it anyway. By this time, we had found new solutions and ways of dealing with the situation, and we were ready to move forward.

This was natural for the democratization of the Soviet Union, and it was also natural for correcting the mistakes we had made earlier, particularly our delay in reforming the Communist Party and the federated union. The goal of the putsch was to interrupt this process. The putschists were at the top of the reactionary nomenklatura -- remember, many in the nomenklatura went ahead and worked with us, struggled with us. So this is my response to the common cliché that you were referring to. These people were unable to publicly overthrow the government, so they took a clandestine route, which they failed in, because difficult as the times were, nobody wanted to return to Stalinism.

RFE/RL: According to many public opinion polls, perestroika remains more popular abroad -- particularly in Europe and the United States -- than in the overwhelming majority of countries of the former Soviet Union. How would you, as the author of that initiative, explain such a difference in its reputation?

Gorbachev: The difference between the reputation perestroika has in Russia and abroad is explainable. Central and Eastern Europe gained independence. All of Europe got rid of the nightmare of potential confrontation -- moreover, a confrontation that could have developed into nuclear war in which Europe would suffer the most damage.

Your question mentioned the CIS countries. Without going into detail, I can tell you that neither the majority of their people nor their political elite desire a return to the way things were, or have any regrets about exiting the union. Recent polls have shown that the percentage of the population in these countries in favor of a return to the Soviet Union is only about 5-7 percent.

Russia is a special case. The reason I say this is because Russia lost the most as a result of the break-up, in terms of geopolitical stature, in terms of historical merit, in terms of political power it had by virtue of controlling other republics, and finally in terms of economic strength, having ceased to be the center of a major economic complex with a population of nearly a quarter-billion people. [Former Russian President Boris] Yeltsin and [former acting Russian Prime Minister Yegor] Gaidar's reforms destroyed the industrial potential of the country and reduced millions of people to poverty. Privatization was carried out in such a way that instead of contributing to a growing private sector, it only resulted in corruption and mass theft. The country was in shock, so people naturally looked back to the Soviet Union and the social guarantees that it offered. The guarantees were

modest, but at least they were guarantees. Now, even though things are improving under Putin, I would still estimate that about 50 percent of our people live in poverty."

RFE/RL: In Russia, it is popular to argue -- and you hear this at the highest political levels -- that the end of the Cold War destabilized the modern world order; the solid bipolar international system was replaced by an unstable monopolar domination. Do you agree with this view?

Gorbachev: I've heard this view before -- that the Cold War supposedly offered a level of stability. I'm not sure where this view comes from -- whether it is part of someone's agenda or simply rooted in ignorance of the situation that developed in the mid-1980s. I was touring the country at the time and from all sides I heard the same question: "Will there be war? Please, do anything you can to not let it happen. Do anything, we'll live through whatever it takes, but just don't let it happen." Of course, many people forgot about this when the fear of war subsided.

The stability of the Cold War was a false one. It was tricky and dangerous. We in the Russian and U.S. governments knew better than anybody what the true situation was and what it could develop into, because we knew what point we were at in the arms race. We knew that the kind of technology that we were operating was powerful enough to put the fate of civilization in question should there be some sort of slip-up. We also knew that the arms race was leading to an unprecedented depletion of national resources.

RFE/RL: How do you assess the state of democracy and freedom of speech in Russia today?

Gorbachev: There are frequent accusations that democracy is being suppressed and that freedom of press is being stifled. The truth is, most Russians disagree with this viewpoint. We find ourselves at a difficult historical juncture. Our transition to democracy has not been a smooth one, and we must assess our successes and failures not in the context of some ideal, but in the context of our history. When Putin first came to power, I think his first priority was keeping the country from falling apart, and this required certain measures that wouldn't exactly be referred to as textbook democracy.

Yes, there are certain worrying tendencies. We still have certain stipulations and restrictions that cannot be explained by real dangers, or by the realities of life in Russia. However, I would not dramatize the situation. In the past 20 years, Russia has changed to such an extent that going back is now impossible.

RFE/RL: Let's turn the clock back 15 years. You suffered a horrible betrayal on the part of the people you considered your comrades-in-arms, as well as, perhaps, your personal friends. Not many people have experienced this. What personal lessons have you learned?

Gorbachev: We need to follow the path of democracy. We need to respect the people, and not turn them back into the herd that was bullied for decades and centuries in our country. We cannot resolve problems through coups. We need the people to participate in the changes that are being enacted in the country. Democracy needs to be effective. The law needs to be efficient. Thieves and corrupt officials should not feel safe. We need to follow the path of democracy toward a free, open, and prosperous country.

Source: <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1070667.html>

Council on Foreign Relations & Soviet Russia



Averell Harriman (center) and his wife Pamela Harriman greet Soviet Commissar Yuri Andropov (far right) in Moscow in June 1983. Andropov was the former Chief of the KGB and former head of the Soviet Union. Averell Harriman was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a member of Skull & Bones, a secret society at Yale University. (TASS Photo)
(Source: *Spanning The Century: The Life of W. Averell Harriman, 1891-1986* by Rudy Abramson)



George H.W. Bush (left), the Vice President of the United States, meets Soviet Commissar Yuri Andropov in November 1982. Bush was a former CIA Director, and Andropov was the former Chief of the KGB. George H.W. Bush is a member of Skull & Bones and a former member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: UPI/Bettman)
(Source: *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush* by Christopher Andrew)



Richard Nixon greets Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev in 1986. Anatoly Dobrynin (wearing glasses) is smiling.



Vice President Richard Nixon toasts Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at a party in Moscow in July 1959.

ROOSEVELT AND TRUMAN ADMINISTRATIONS



U.S. Secretary of State Edward Stettinius (left), acting United Nations Secretary-General Alger Hiss (center), and Andrei Gromyko (right), then the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, stand together at the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945. Stettinius and Hiss were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. Hiss was convicted of perjury in January 1950 after Whittaker Chambers accused Alger Hiss of being a Communist agent and a Soviet collaborator.



General Dwight Eisenhower, Soviet tyrant Josef Stalin, and Ambassador Averell Harriman receive a "hero's welcome" in Moscow as they review a Soviet parade from a platform on top of Lenin's tomb on August 12, 1945. Both Eisenhower and Harriman were members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



The Big Three and their Foreign Ministers in front of Livadiya Palace at Yalta. Eden is standing behind Churchill, Stettinius behind Roosevelt, and Molotov behind Stalin. Bohlen is at left, behind Churchill.

U.S. Army Photograph

Charles E. Bohlen and former Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. were members of the Council on Foreign Relations.
(Source: *Witness to History: 1929-1969* by Charles E. Bohlen)



American and Soviet diplomats meet in January 1945. Second from left is Vishinsky, fourth from left is U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union Averell Harriman, fifth from left is Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov, sixth from left is British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden, seventh from left is U.S. Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr., eighth from left is Cadogan, and on right (wearing a bow tie) is **Alger Hiss**. Harriman, Stettinius, and Hiss were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: [Franklin D. Roosevelt Library](#))

Acheson conversing with a Soviet Commandant at Berlin.



Left: Dean Acheson meets with a Soviet Commandant in Berlin (Photo: *Dean Acheson: The State Department Years* by David S. McLellan. Right: Dean Acheson talks to Andrei Gromyko at a conference setting up the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency on November 11, 1943.



Soviet Premier Josef Stalin and President Harry S. Truman smile during the Potsdam Conference in 1945. Presidential advisor Charles E. Bohlen is seen whispering into Stalin's ear. (CORBIS)



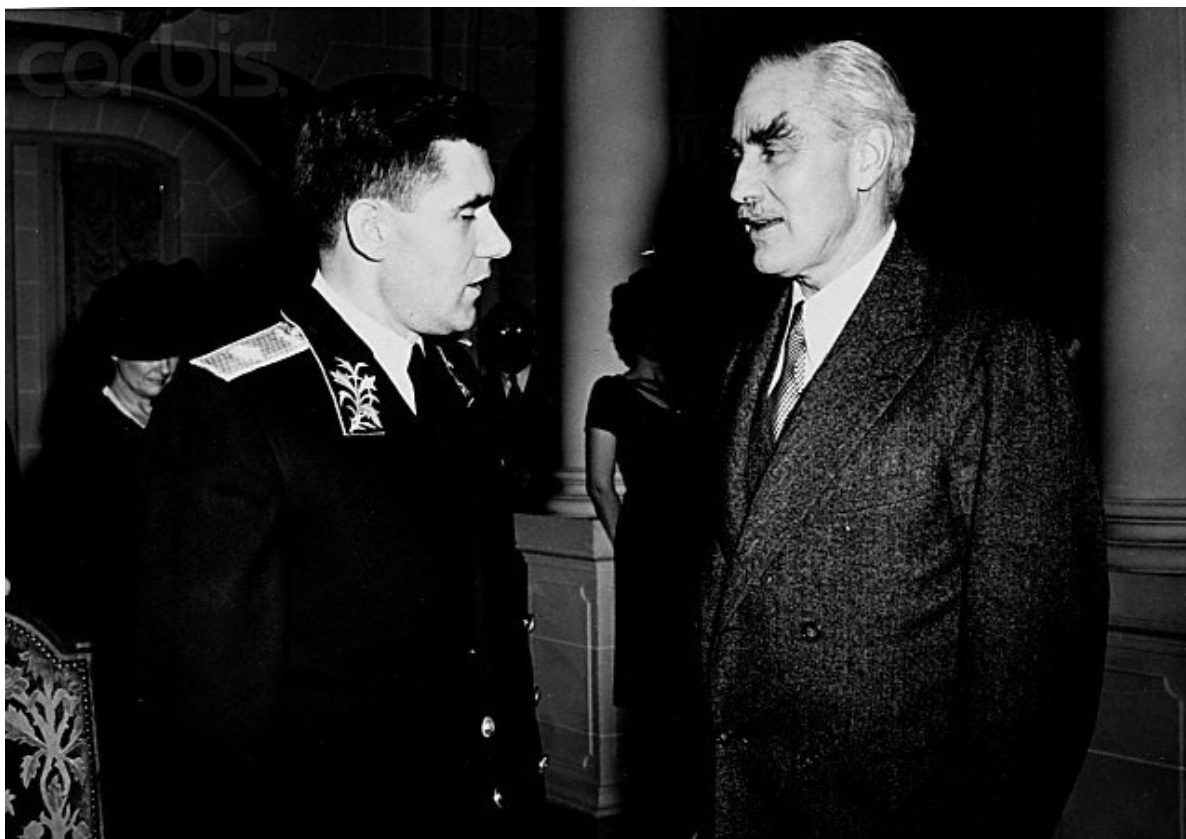
At Potsdam Conference. Left to right: Stalin, Bohlen, Pavlov, Truman, Gromyko, presidential press secretary Charles Ross, Secretary of State Byrnes, and Molotov.

Signal Corps, U.S. Army

Charles E. Bohlen is seen standing behind Josef Stalin and President Harry Truman at the Potsdam Conference in 1945.



Left to right: American envoy Charles Bohlen, Secretary of State Edward Stettinius Jr., Russian Ambassador Andrei Gromyko, and Russian Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov greet one another in April 1945. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Acting U.S. Secretary of State Joseph Crew, right, calls at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. to pay his respects to Andrei A. Gromyko, Russian Ambassador to the United States, on the 27th anniversary of the Red Army on February 23, 1945. (Bettmann/CORBIS)

U.S. Ambassadors to Soviet Union who were members of the Council on Foreign Relations



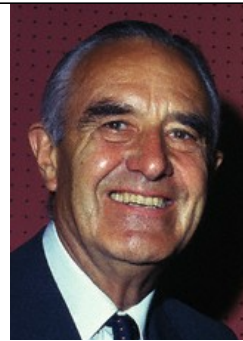
William C. Bullitt
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1933-1936)



Laurence A. Steinhardt
U.S. Ambassador to
Soviet Union (1939-1941)



Adm. William H. Standley
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1942-
1943);
Chief of Naval Operations
(1933-1937)



W. Averell Harriman
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1943-1946)
U.S. Secretary of
Commerce (1946-1948)



Gen. Walter Bedell Smith
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1946-1948);
Director of Central
Intelligence Agency
(1950-1953)



Adm. Alan G. Kirk
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1949-1951)



George F. Kennan
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union
(May 14, 1952-
September 19, 1952)



Charles E. Bohlen
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1953-1957)



Llewellyn E. Thompson
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union
(1957-1962, 1967-1969)



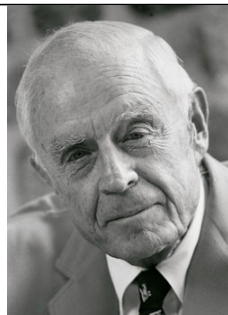
Foy D. Kohler
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1962-1966)



Jacob D. Beam
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1969-1973)



Walter J. Stoessel Jr.
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1974-1976)



Thomas J. Watson Jr.
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1979-
1981);
Chairman of International
Business Machines Corp.
(1961-1971)



Arthur A. Hartman
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1981-1987)



Jack F. Matlock Jr.
U.S. Ambassador to the
Soviet Union (1987-1991)



Robert S. Strauss
U.S. Ambassador to
Soviet Union (August 24,
1991-December 26,
1991) and Russia (1992)

EISENHOWER ADMINISTRATION



President Dwight Eisenhower stands next to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at Camp David.



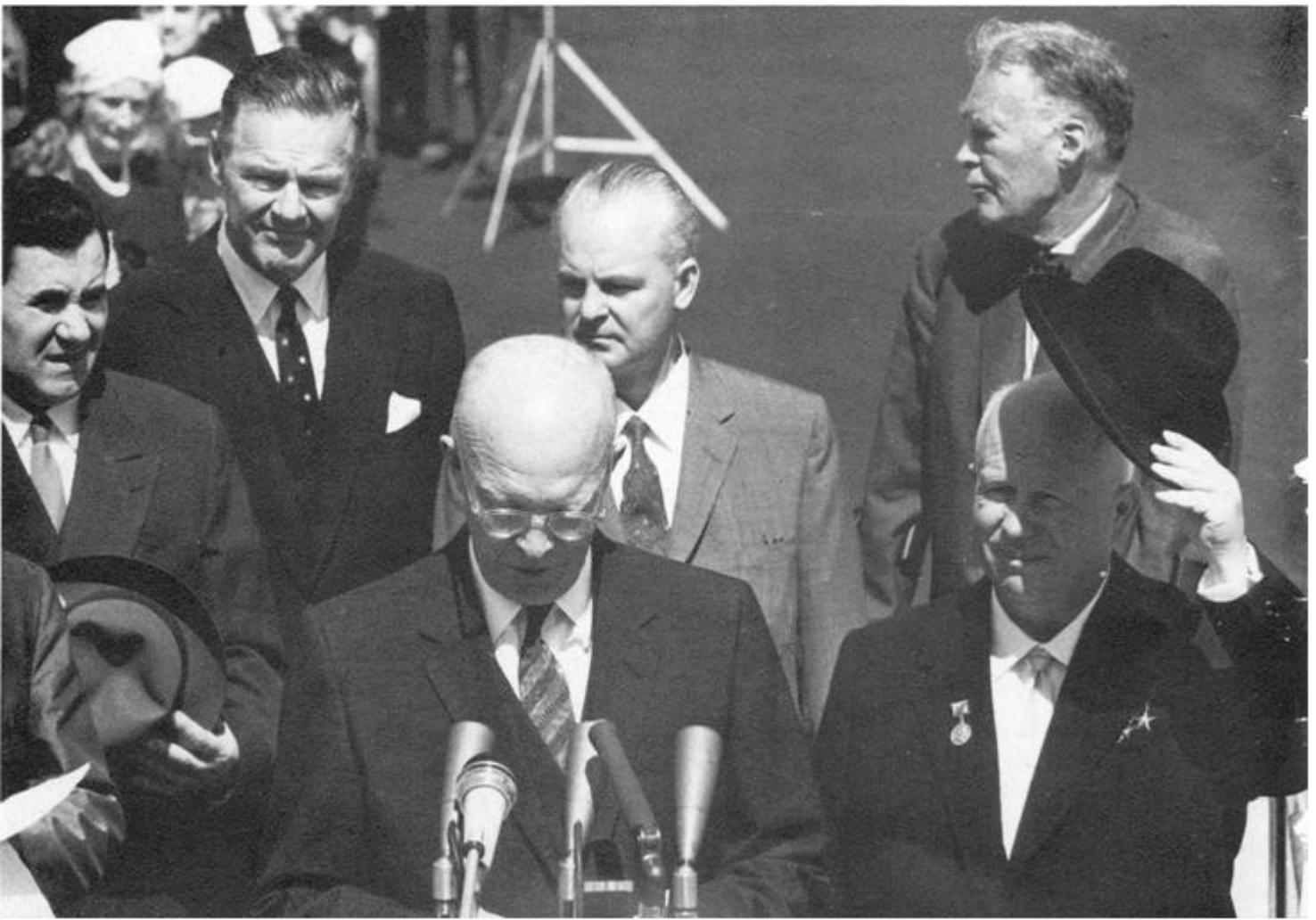
Soviet Commissar Nikita S. Khrushchev (center) appears with Adlai E. Stevenson Jr. (left), U.S. Representative to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. (center left), and Roswell Garst (right) in Iowa during his tour of America in September 1959. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



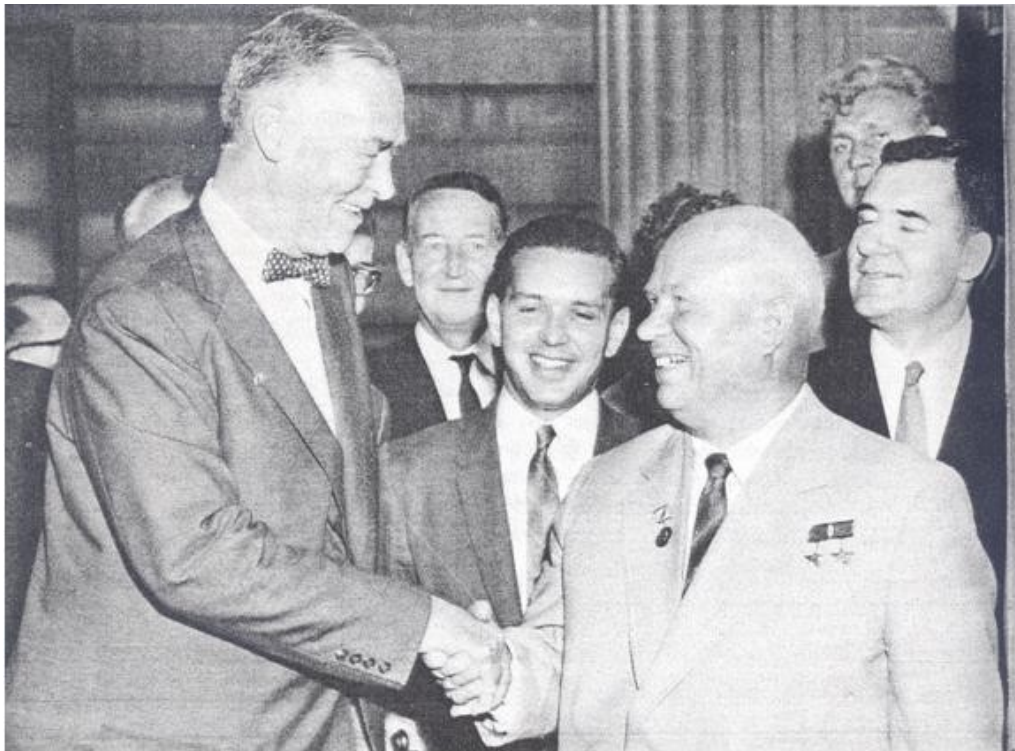
U. S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Left, is welcomed by Nikita Khrushchev, Soviet Communist party boss, right, and Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin, center, as the Secretary arrived for a luncheon party given by the Russians in Geneva, Switzerland on July 22, 1955. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Seated, from left to right: U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union Llewellyn E. Thompson, Jr., U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Soviet Diplomat Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Trade Minister Anastas I. Mikoyan, and U.S. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles meet in Washington, D.C. in 1959. (Photo: Ed Clark/Time Life)



Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (lower right) watches U.S. President Dwight Eisenhower deliver a speech at Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland, U.S.A. in September 1959. Behind Eisenhower are from left to right: Foreign Minister of Soviet Union Andrei Gromyko, U.S. Representative to the United Nations Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., Mikhail Menshikov, and U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter.



U.S. Secretary of State Christian Herter greets Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.



President Dwight Eisenhower and Soviet minister Nikolai Bulganin smile for the cameras at a Geneva Conference in July 1955.



Soviet Commissar Nikita S. Khrushchev (center) shakes hands with Under Secretary of State C. Douglas Dillon in Washington, D.C. in September 1959. C. Douglas Dillon was a former Chairman and CEO of Dillon, Read & Co. banking firm in New York City and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Ed Clark/Time Life)



Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. walks with Soviet Commissar Nikita Khrushchev.



Llewellyn Thompson (center) appears with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (left) on a Soviet farm.



Adlai E. Stevenson (left) and Soviet Commissar Nikita Khrushchev are seen laughing together at a party.



Charles E. Bohlen (right), the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, appears with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (left) and Nikolai Bulganin at a party at the American Embassy in Moscow, Soviet Union on July 4, 1956.



Father presents President Eisenhower with a replica of the “Lunnik” sphere deposited on the moon in September. From left to right: Ambassador Thompson, Vice President Nixon, Henry Cabot Lodge, Eisenhower, and Father. The man standing directly behind Eisenhower is Secretary of State Herter. The White House, Washington, D.C., 1959.

(Source: *Nikita Khrushchev and the Creation of a Superpower* by Sergei N. Khrushchev)



President of the United States Dwight Eisenhower (left) and his wife First Lady Mamie Eisenhower (2nd left) appear alongside Soviet Commissar Nikita Khrushchev (2nd right) and his wife Mrs. Khrushchev at a party.

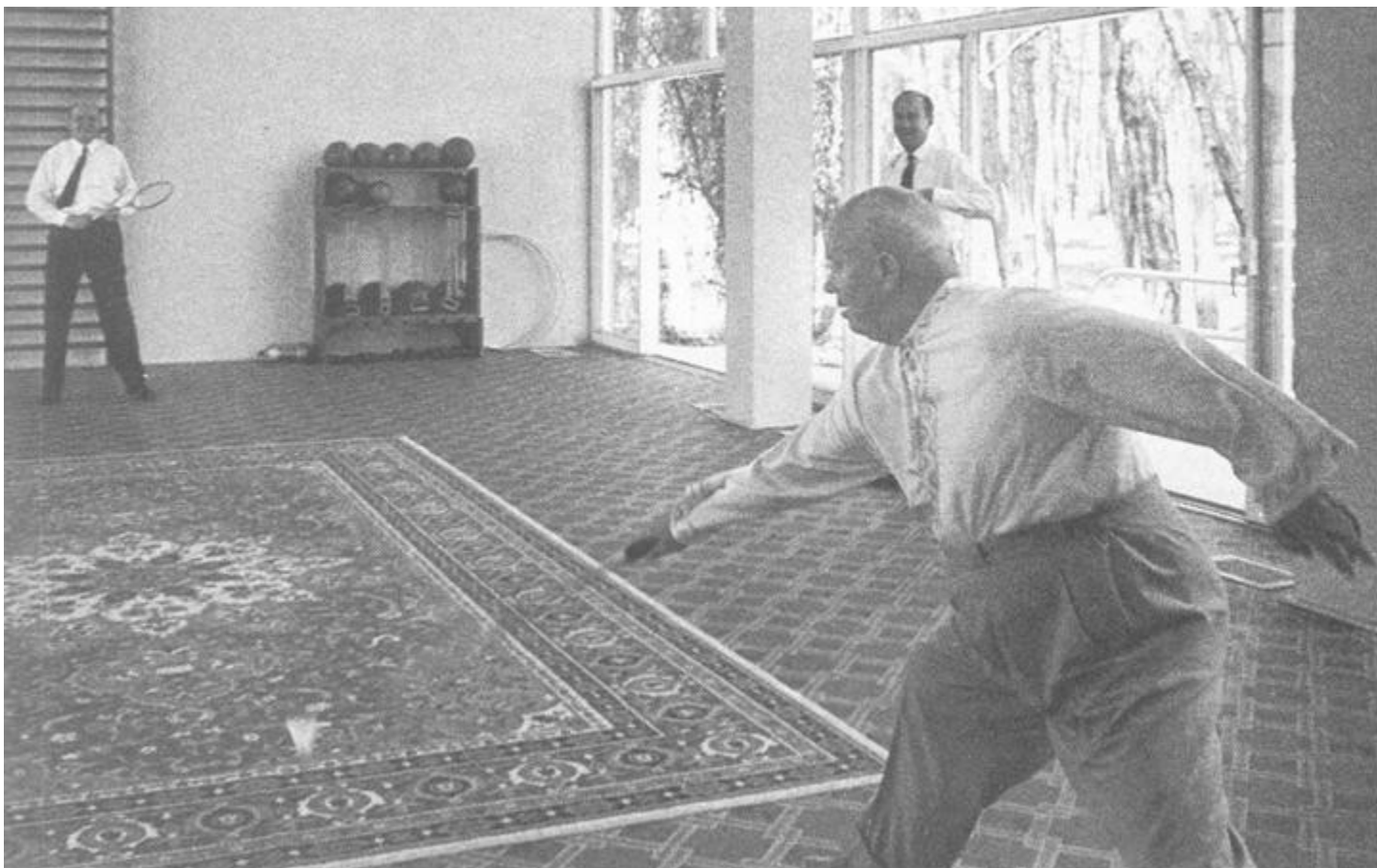
KENNEDY AND JOHNSON ADMINISTRATIONS



United States President Lyndon B. Johnson watches Ambassador-at-Large Averell Harriman, a former partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. banking firm in New York City, shake hands with Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin at the Glassboro Conference on June 25, 1967. (Photo: [Frank Wolfe/Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library](#))



Averell Harriman listens to Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (far right) at the Kremlin in Moscow, Soviet Union in July 1963. (Photo: Stan Wayman/Time Life)



Secretary of State Dean Rusk plays a game of badminton tennis with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at Nikita Khrushchev's house in the Soviet Union. This photo was published in Dean Rusk's autobiography *As I Saw It*. (UPI/Bettmann)



Secretary of State Dean Rusk is seen having dinner with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. This photo was published in Dean Rusk's autobiography *As I Saw It*.



Glassboro Conference in June 1967. Left to right: Andrei Gromyko, Anatoly Dobrynin, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, Dean Rusk, unidentified, and National Security Advisor Walt Rostow. (LBJ Library)
<http://photolab.lbjlib.utexas.edu/images/midres/0/00/000/0004/449.jpg>



Glassboro Conference in June 1967. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara chats with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Ambassador to America Anatoly Dobrynin, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk in the background. National Security Advisor Walt Rostow is seated in the foreground on the right. (Photo: LBJ Library) <http://photolab.lbjlib.utexas.edu/images/midres/0/00/000/0004/459.jpg>



U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk talks to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (left) at the Glassboro Summit Conference on July 25, 1967. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto, LBJ Library](#))



President Lyndon B. Johnson watches National Security Advisor Walt Rostow shake hands with Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin at the Glassboro Summit Conference in New Jersey on June 25, 1967. (Photo: [Frank Wolfe, LBJ Library](#))



U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Llewellyn E. Thompson (left) talks to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko on June 25, 1967. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto, LBJ Library](#))



President of Ford Foundation McGeorge Bundy (left) listens to Soviet Commissar Vorontsov during dinner at the Glassboro Summit in Glassboro, New Jersey on June 23, 1967. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto, LBJ Library](#))



National Security Advisor Walt Rostow (left) watches Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy (right) talk to Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin during the Glassboro Summit in June 1967. Both Bundy and Rostow were members of the Council on Foreign Relations; both Bundy and Rostow served as National Security Advisor under LBJ. Dobrynin was a UN Under-Secretary for Security and Political Affairs from 1958 to 1959 and an ambassador to the U.S. from 1962 to 1986. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto, LBJ Library](#))



U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union Llewellyn Thompson (right) listens as U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk (front of pink curtain) talks to Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin (far left) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at the Glassboro Summit in Glassboro, New Jersey on June 25, 1967. (Photo: [Yoichi R. Okamoto, LBJ Library](#))



June 23, 1967: Meeting with Kosygin at Glassboro. The president asked me to tell the Soviet leader why we believed deployment of a Soviet anti-ballistic missile system would destabilize the nuclear balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. My statement infuriated Kosygin but led, ultimately, to the Anti-Ballistic Missile and SALT treaties, which were signed a few years later. *(Photo courtesy the LBJ Library Collection)*

(Source: In Retrospect: The Tragedy and Lessons of Vietnam by Robert S. McNamara)



President Lyndon B. Johnson and his Cabinet secretaries are seen having a dinner with the Soviet Russians at the Glassboro Summit in Glassboro, New Jersey in June 1967. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara is seated second from left. U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk is seated fifth from right. Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy is seated in the rear second from right. President Johnson is seated between Soviet Premier Alexsei Kosygin and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin. (Photo: Lyndon B. Johnson Library)



President Lyndon B. Johnson (right), Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin (left), and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Arthur J. Goldberg (center, sitting) watch Secretary of State Dean Rusk sign a treaty on January 27, 1967.



Secretary of State Dean Rusk (left) shakes hands with Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev prior to signing of nuclear test-ban treaty in Moscow, Soviet Russia in August 1963. (Photo: Stan Wayman/Time Life)



Secretary of State Dean Rusk (right) shakes hands with Soviet bureaucrat Anastas I. Mikoyan at a reception in Washington, D.C. in November 1963 held after President John F. Kennedy's funeral as President Lyndon B. Johnson (rear R) greets other dignitary. (Photo: Art Rickerby/Time Life)



President Lyndon B. Johnson (foreground right) and his advisors meet with Soviet Russian officials in Washington, D.C. in 1966. Front row, left to right: U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Soviet Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and President Lyndon B. Johnson. Back row, left to right: National Security Advisor Walt Rostow, Soviet Russian Ambassador to America Anatoly Dobrynin, and American Ambassador to Soviet Russia Llewellyn E. Thompson Jr. Rusk, Rostow, and Thompson were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: Francis Miller/Time Life)



Glassboro Conference in June 1967. Left to right: Llewellyn E. Thompson (U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union), Andrei Gromyko (Foreign Minister of Soviet Union), and Secretary of State Dean Rusk. (Photo: [Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library](#))



U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk (center) calls on Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (right) in a courtesy call preceding the signing of the first East-West agreement on the control of nuclear weapons since the start of the Cold War on August 5, 1963. Also present are Adlai Stevenson (left), U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., Senator Leverett Saltonstall (2nd left), and Anatoly Dobrynin (2nd right), Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin stand together during the signing of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in the Soviet Union in 1963. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS)



U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko smile for the camera in New York City in 1961 during the time of the death of United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. (Photo: Alfred Eisenstaedt/Time Life)

NIXON ADMINISTRATION



Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev (left) whispers into the ears of U.S. President Richard M. Nixon.
(Photo: <http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?t=139403>)

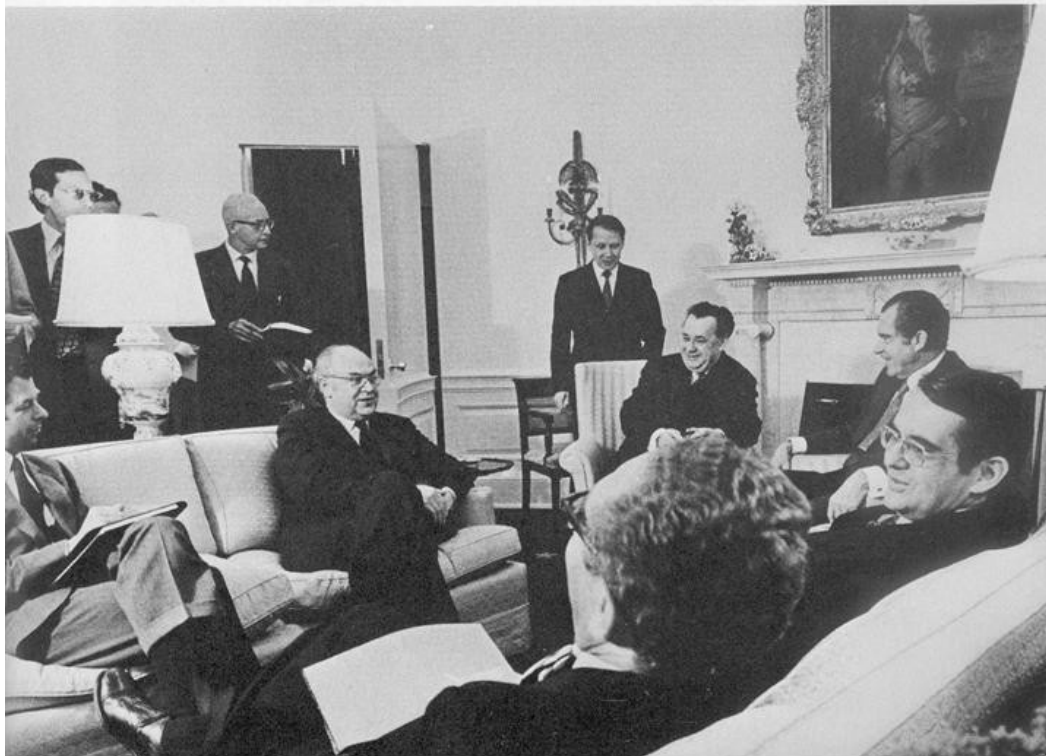


American President Richard Nixon (left) shakes hands with Soviet ruler Leonid Brezhnev after the signing of the SALT I Treaty in Moscow on May 26, 1972. Among those in the audience, in the front row between Nixon and Brezhnev, are Podgorny, Kosygin, and Andrei Gromyko. (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)



National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger takes notes as Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko talks to U.S. President Richard Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William P. Rogers, and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin (left) at the White House on October 25, 1970.

Soviet Trade Minister Nikolai Patolichev visits Nixon three days after the mining of North Vietnam, May 11, 1972. Seated, clockwise from left: Peter Flanigan, Dobrynin, Patolichev, Nixon, Peter Peterson, HAK.



National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger (foreground), U.S. Secretary of Commerce Peter G. Peterson (right of Kissinger), Peter Flanigan (far left), and President Richard Nixon meet with Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin and Soviet Trade Minister Nikolai Patolichev on May 11, 1972.



May 29, 1972: With President Nixon, strolling within the Kremlin walls in Moscow, during the first of the summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union. It was the first visit ever by a United States president to the Soviet capital.

National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and President Richard Nixon go for a walk at the Kremlin.



President Richard Nixon reaches to clink his glass with that of Dr. Henry Kissinger, Presidential Advisor, in Moscow on May 26, 1972 after signing of a Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty with Soviet leaders. Just behind the glasses are US State Secretary William Rogers (center) and Soviet Russian commissar Leonid Brezhnev, Communist Party General Secretary. Kissinger was responsible for many of the reparations and details of the summit conference. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Andrei Gromyko, Anatoly Dobrynin, Leonid Brezhnev, Viktor Sukhodrev, and Henry Kissinger prepare for a meeting inside the Kremlin in September 1972.



U.S. President Richard Nixon meets with Andrei Gromyko (left), Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, in the Oval Office in Washington, D.C., U.S.A. on November 26, 1973. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



With President Nixon watching over his shoulder, U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger puts his signature to one of two secret documents at signing ceremonies in the Kremlin in Moscow on July 3, 1974. The agreements were worked out during Nixon's seven-day summit conference with USSR Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Yalta Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. Photo shows Kissinger and Gromyko shaking hands with onlookers applauding. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



With President Nixon watching over his shoulder, U. S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger puts his signature to one of two secret documents at signing ceremonies in the Kremlin in Moscow on July 3, 1974. The agreements were worked out during Nixon's seven-day summit conference with USSR Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Yalta Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Photo shows Kissinger and Gromyko shaking hands with onlookers applauding. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



President Richard Nixon toasts with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger at the Kremlin in Moscow on **July 3, 1974** during the seven-day summit conference with the Soviet Communist Party. **Richard Nixon resigned from office as President of the United States on August 9, 1974.** (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Averell Harriman (left) meets with Soviet Communist Leader Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow, Soviet Union on June 4, 1974.
(AP Wirephoto)



Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey ride on a snowmobile in Washington D.C. (with no snow) in 1971. Hubert H. Humphrey was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. American military servicemen were dying in South Vietnam at the hands of the Viet Congs and North Vietnamese as this photo was taken. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



President Richard Nixon, Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin, and National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger relax at Nixon's house in San Clemente, California in July 1972. American military servicemen were dying in South Vietnam at the hands of the Viet Congs and North Vietnamese as this photo was taken. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



On the same visit. President Nixon takes the wheel of a golf cart, with my wife in front, and Henry Kissinger and me in the back.

The "me" in the caption is Anatoly Dobrynin. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



Henry Kissinger and Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev go for a walk in the woods. A Soviet officer carries a rifle with a scope on it.



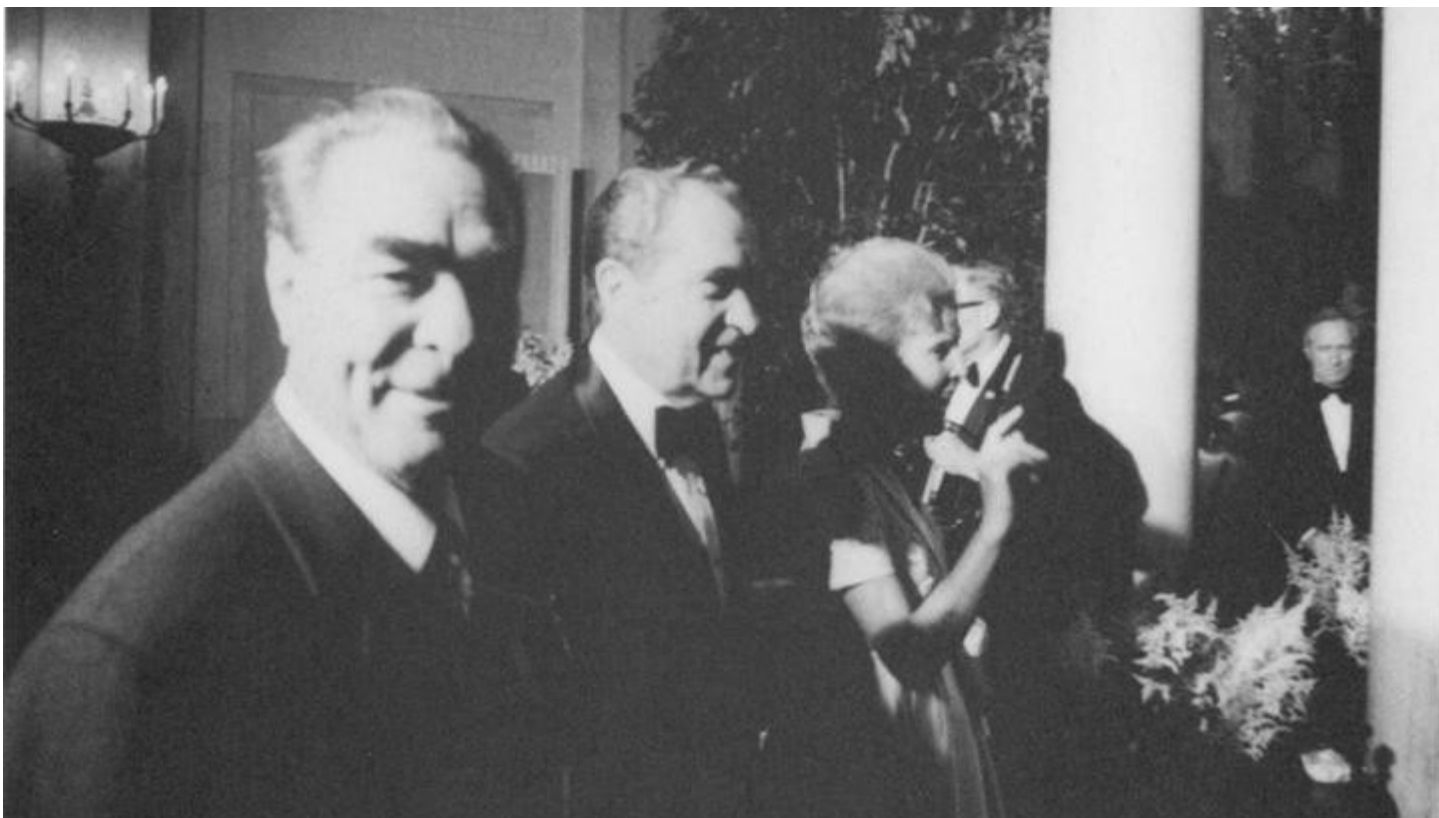
Henry Kissinger and Anatoly Dobrynin eat dinner together at the Map Room of the White House on March 17, 1972.



National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin ride together in a Soviet boat in August 1972. American military servicemen were dying in South Vietnam at the hands of the Viet Congs and North Vietnamese as this photo was taken. This photo was published in Henry Kissinger's book *White House Years*.



Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev drives a golf cart while President Richard Nixon rides in the front and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger rides in the back (sitting behind Brezhnev) at San Clemente in June 1973.



Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev and U.S. President Richard Nixon attend a party at the White House in 1973.



Leonid Brezhnev smiles for the camera as President Richard Nixon smiles in the background.

FORD ADMINISTRATION



Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Soviet dictator Leonid Brezhnev, President Gerald Ford, and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko stand together outside the American embassy in Helsinki, Finland on July 30, 1975. (Photo: Gerald R. Ford Library)



Left photo: Secretary of State Henry Kissinger smiles as President Gerald Ford shakes hands with Soviet despot Leonid Brezhnev. (Photo: <http://www.militaryphotos.net/forums/showthread.php?t=139403>)



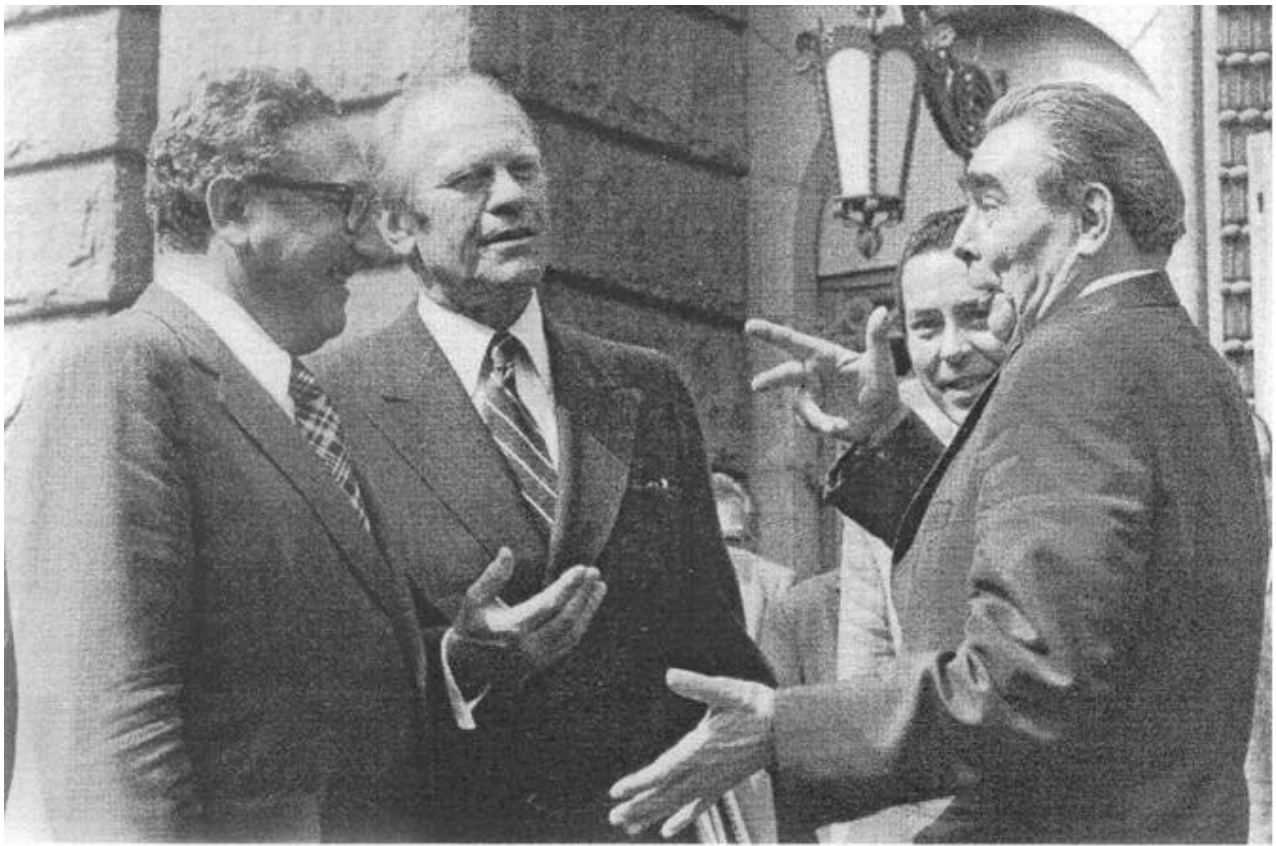
Right photo: From left to right: Andrei Gromyko, Winston Lord, Viktor Sukhodrev, Leonid Brezhnev, (unknown), Henry Kissinger, and NSC staffer William Hyland prepare for talks at the Kremlin in Moscow, Soviet Union on January 21, 1976.



United States President Gerald Ford meets with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev in Helsinki, Finland on July 30, 1975. Commissar Korniyenko, Andrei Gromyko, Leonid Brezhnev, Viktor Sukhodrev, Aleksandrov, Vavilov, Peter W. Rodman, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (hidden behind Ford), President Gerald Ford, Walter J. Stoessel, Brent Scowcroft, and William G. Hyland (at window). (Photo: Gerald R. Ford Library)



President Gerald Ford signs an unequal treaty with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev. (Photo: Gerald R. Ford Library)



United States Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (left) and U.S. President Gerald Ford (2nd left) engage in a friendly conversation with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev. Brezhnev is seen flashing a gang gesture.



Courtesy of the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation

United States President Gerald Ford (left), U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (center), and Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev pose for a group portrait.

CARTER ADMINISTRATION



President Jimmy Carter signs an unequal treaty with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev on June 18, 1979 in Vienna. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. David Jones (wearing his uniform), National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, Defense Secretary Harold Brown, State Department assistant Les Gelb (standing behind Harold Brown), Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, and Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin are standing in the background. Carter, Jones, Brzezinski, Brown, and Gelb are members of the Council on Foreign Relations; Vance was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



President Jimmy Carter shakes hands with Soviet Commissar Leonid Brezhnev after signing an unequal treaty. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is seen applauding. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is standing in the rear on the far right.



Secretary of State Cyrus Vance (left) chats with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (center) in September 1977. (Wally McNamee/CORBIS)



President Jimmy Carter and Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev shake hands amidst applause in the Vienna Imperial Hofburg Palace after signing the SALT II treaty on June 8, 1979. Les Gelb is on the far left applauding. Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko is clapping while Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin (second from right) is smiling in the background. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance is standing behind Carter.



President Jimmy Carter and his wife Rosalyn Carter meet with Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin at the White House in January 1977. Rosalyn Carter is not a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



Secretary of State Cyrus Vance (left) talks to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Geneva, Switzerland for the Salt II discussions on December 28, 1978. (Photo by Keystone/Getty Images)



To Toly - for better or for worse, this is the
way to negotiate - Zbig. July, '77.

Caption: "To Toly - for better or for worse, this is the way to negotiate - Zbig. July, '77." This photo appears in Anatoly Dobrynin's book *In Confidence: Moscow's Ambassador to America's Six Cold War Presidents*.



Democratic Party presidential candidate Walter Mondale (right), former U.S. Senator and former Vice President, meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko at the Soviet Mission in New York City on September 27, 1984. (AP Photo/Lana Harris)

Consultative luncheon with Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin in Brzezinski's office at the White House, June 1977. The President's secretary showed him a copy of this picture, which he returned to me autographed and with the notation: "Now I see why we always get out-traded by the Soviets." Chapter 5



This photo appears in Zbigniew Brzezinski's book *Power and Principle*.

REAGAN ADMINISTRATION



United States President Ronald Reagan (L) and U.S. Representative to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick (C) meet Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (R) on eve of the 39th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York City on September 23, 1984. Jeane Kirkpatrick was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Deputy Secretary of State John C. Whitehead (left) appears with Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin in February 1986. John C. Whitehead is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and a former Partner of Goldman, Sachs & Co. (Photo by Karl Schumacher/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)



Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (left) meets at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations with U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz on September 26, 1984. (© Bettmann/CORBIS)



Eduard Shevardnadze, Mikhail Gorbachev, Frank Carlucci, and I in Moscow, October 23, 1987.

The "I" in the caption is Secretary of State George P. Shultz. This photo appears in George P. Shultz's book *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years As Secretary of State*.



Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze meets George Shultz and Ronald Reagan at the White House on September 27, 1985. The man with the moustache is a Soviet translator. Shevardnadze would become the President of Georgia in 1992. This photo appears in George P. Shultz's book *Turmoil and Triumph: My Years As Secretary of State*. (Photo: Ronald Reagan Library)



Paul Nitze shakes hand with Soviet negotiator and commissar Yuli Kvitsinsky at an INF summit in Geneva, Switzerland on December 1, 1981.



Paul Nitze shakes hands with Soviet Commissar Yuli Kvitsinskiy at the beginning of INF negotiations in Geneva, Switzerland in November 1981. Paul Nitze was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo: *From Hiroshima to Glasnost* by Paul H. Nitze)



Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze's first visit to Washington, September 1987

L to R, far side of table: Kenneth Adelman, Director, Arms and Disarmament Agency; Ambassador Matlock; Rosanne Ridgeway, Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs; Secretary of State George Schultz; President Reagan; Vice President Bush

L to R, near side of table: Soviet Ambassador Dubinin; Eduard Shevardnadze; A. Bessmertnykh

Kenneth Adelman, Jack F. Matlock Jr., Rozanne Ridgeway, George P. Shultz are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. George H.W. Bush is a former member of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Paul Nitze appears with U.S. Secretary of State George P. Shultz (left) and Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (second from right) in Moscow in October 1987. (Photo: *From Hiroshima to Glasnost* by Paul H. Nitze)



Secretary of State George Shultz (R) shakes hands with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze (left) after they signed an agreement to limit the chances for accidental nuclear war in a Rose Garden ceremony at the White House on September 15, 1987. Between them is Sen. John Warner, R-Va. Behind Sen. Shultz is Sen. Sam Nunn, D-Ga., and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Shultz, Warner, and Weinberger are (or were) members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Tim Clary/Bettmann/CORBIS)

GEORGE H.W. BUSH ADMINISTRATION



Secretary of State James A. Baker III smiles as he meets with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev for the first time on May 11, 1989. This photo appears in James A. Baker III's book *The Politics of Diplomacy*. (AP/Wide World)



Secretary of State James A. Baker III addresses the Supreme Soviet on February 10, 1990. Baker was the first foreigner ever to do so. This photo appears in James A. Baker III's book *The Politics of Diplomacy*.



OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPH, OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Author's call on President Yeltsin, September 1992. The room is the one from which Gorbachev gave his resignation address in December 1991. David Matlock is on the right.

(Source: *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union* by Jack F. Matlock, Jr.)



Soviet Russian opposition leader Boris Yeltsin is greeted by Secretary of State James A. Baker III at the U.S. State Department in Washington, D.C. on September 12, 1989. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Author with the Gorbachevs in Geneva,
November 1985.

(Source: *Autopsy on an Empire: The American Ambassador's Account of the Collapse of the Soviet Union* by Jack F. Matlock, Jr.)

U.S.-Soviet Military Contacts



COURTESY OF U.S. EMBASSY, MOSCOW



AUTHOR'S COLLECTION

Top: General Yazov comes to dinner at Spaso House, October 1990. Left to right: U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney, author, Mrs. Cheney, General Yazov.
Bottom: Chiefs of defense staffs at Spaso House, 1991. Facing camera: General Colin Powell, chairman of U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Rebecca Matlock, General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of Soviet General Staff.



Admiral Crowe welcomes Marshal Sergei Akhromeyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff, to "The Tank," the JCS Conference Room in the Pentagon, 8 July 1988.

Admiral William J. Crowe Jr. was the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a member of the Council on Foreign Relations at the time this photo was taken.



Soviet Marshal Sergei F. Akhromeyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff and First Deputy Minister of Defense walks with Admiral William J. Crowe on July 11, 1988 in New York City. (Photo: CFR Annual Report)



Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev, President George H.W. Bush, and Deputy National Security Advisor Robert M. Gates appear at a party at the White House in May 1991. (White House photo) (Source: *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* by Robert M. Gates)



CIA Director Robert Gates talks to Yevginiy Primakov, head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, in Moscow in October 1992. (Russian Government Photo) (Source: *From the Shadows: The Ultimate Insider's Story of Five Presidents and How They Won the Cold War* by Robert M. Gates)



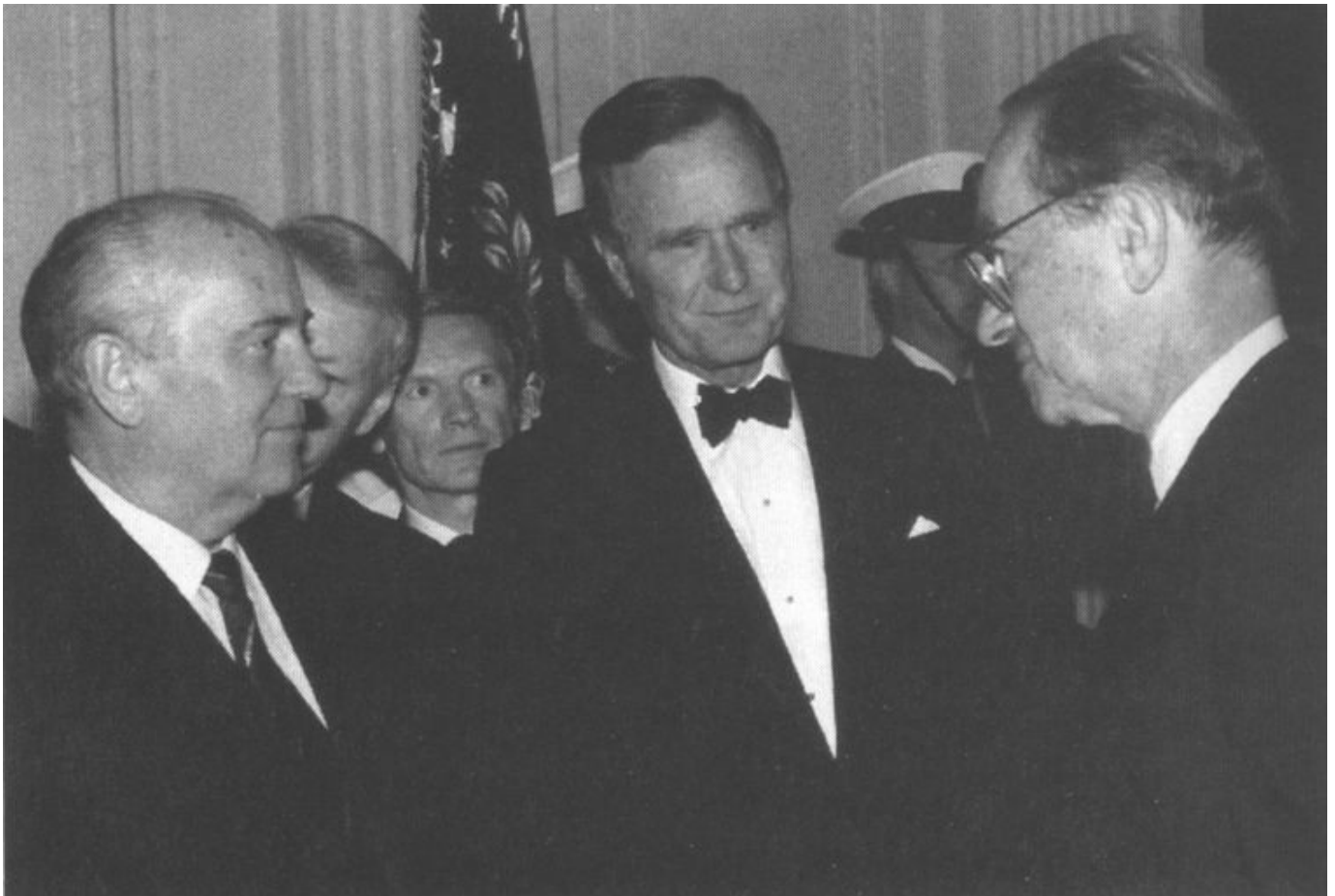
Secretary of State James A. Baker III embraces Eduard Shevardnadze, President of Georgia and former Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, on May 26, 1992. This photo appears in James A. Baker III's book *The Politics of Diplomacy*. (Reuters/Bettmann)



Secretary of State James A. Baker III (L) meets with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the State Department in Washington, D.C. on April 4, 1990. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



Henry Kissinger talks to Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev while President George Bush can be seen in the background (right). This photo appears in *Kissinger: A Biography* by Walter Isaacson. (Photo: The White House)

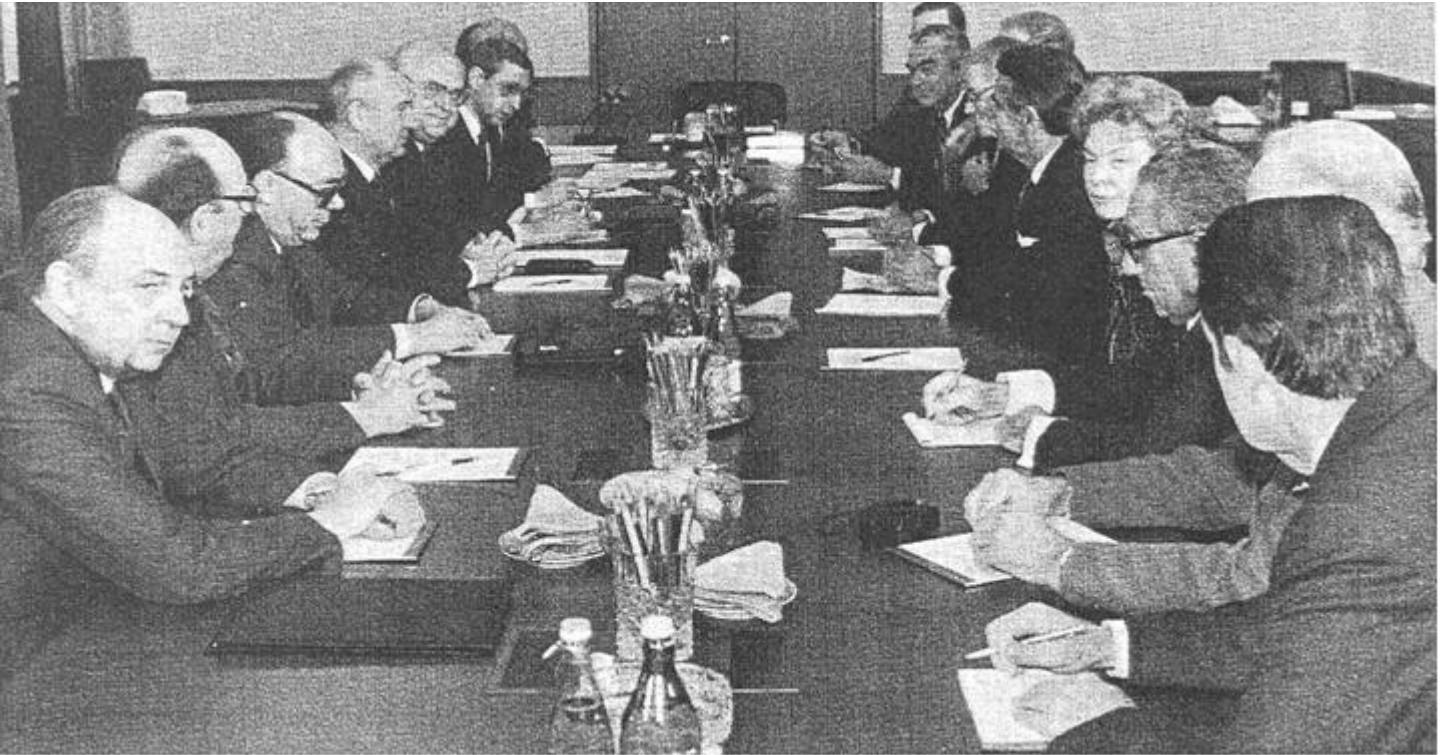


Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev, President George H.W. Bush, and Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan appear in a receiving line at a state dinner in Washington, D.C. on May 31, 1990. This photo appears in the book *The Age of Turbulence: Adventures in a New World* by Alan Greenspan. (Photo: George Bush Presidential Library)



American Commissar George Bush, Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev, Secretary of State James A. Baker III, and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the East Room of the White House after signing a treaty on June 1, 1990. This photo appears in James A. Baker III's book *The Politics of Diplomacy*. (White House/Bush Library)

HAROLD PRATT HOUSE AND MISCELLANEOUS PHOTOS



Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) members meet with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev. Among the CFR delegates include Peter G. Peterson, Cyrus Vance, Henry Kissinger, Harold Brown, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Charles McC. Mathias, Gen. David C. Jones, Peter Tarnoff, John Temple Swing, William G. Hyland, and Michael E. Mandelbaum. Anatoly Dobrynin is seen sitting to Gorbachev's left. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Toby Trister Gati (center) watches William G. Hyland (left) talk to Vladimir Petrovsky, the Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, at the Harold Pratt House. (Photo: CFR Annual Report)



Judith Kipper and Kenneth L. Adelman (right) invite Soviet commissar Alexei Arbatov to the Harold Pratt House on June 21, 1991. Arbatov was the head of department of disarmament and securities studies at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in the Soviet Union. (Photo: CFR Annual Report)



Tom Brokaw, Peter Tarnoff, and Gennadi Gerasimov appear together at the Harold Pratt House on April 11, 1987. Gerasimov was the Chief of the Information Board of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Photo: CFR Annual Report)



Soviet Commissar Oleg T. Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System of the Academy of Science in the Soviet Union, is seen with Arnold L. Horelick at a meeting in Los Angeles on April 13, 1989. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Felix G. Rohatyn listens to Nikolai Shislin (left), adviser to the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, at the Harold Pratt House on April 30, 1990. (Photo: Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report)



Glenn T. Seaborg (standing behind Dean Rusk's left shoulder) watches Secretary of State Dean Rusk (lower left) sign a disarmament treaty as Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (head turned to the left) is seen looking at Adlai E. Stevenson and Soviet dictator Nikita Khrushchev. Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin is seen standing in the rear, fourth from right. UN Secretary-General U-Thant is seen standing between Stevenson and Khrushchev. Seaborg, Rusk, Humphrey, and Stevenson were members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Speaker Yevgeni Primakov, Chairman, Council of Union, Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and Warren Christopher at the November 1, 1989, Roundtable Luncheon in Los Angeles, California, "A Conversation with Chairman Primakov"



Secretary of State George Shultz appears at a press conference in December 1988, with two Soviet flags hanging in the background. (Photo by Diana Walker/Time Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Presider Dwayne O. Andreas, Interpreter, and Speaker Eduard Amvrosievich Shevardnadze, President, Soviet Foreign Policy Association, Moscow, USSR, at the May 9, 1991, General Meeting and Roundtable Dinner, "The Soviet Union and the New World Order"



This photograph was published in the 1991 Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report.

Council on Foreign Relations & Modern Russia



Henry Kissinger greets Russia's President Vladimir Putin at the Novo-Ogaryovo residence outside Moscow on July 13, 2007. (Sergei Chirikov/AFP/Getty Images)



Stanley Fischer greets Russia's President Vladimir Putin. Stanley Fischer is currently the Governor of the Bank of Israel.



World Bank President James Wolfensohn (left) shakes hands with Russia's President Vladimir Putin during their meeting at the Novo-Ogarevo residence outside Moscow on January 20, 2004. Putin awarded Wolfensohn with the Russian Order of Friendship. (Alexey Panov/ITAR-TASS/AFP/Getty Images)



Vladimir Putin meets with Council on Foreign Relations members James A. Baker III and Amy Myers Jaffe at a conference.



World Bank President Robert Zoellick shakes hands with Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin (left) in Moscow on June 16, 2008. (Photo: [The World Bank](#))



World Bank President Paul Wolfowitz (left) shakes hands with Russia's President Vladimir Putin in Moscow on October 20, 2005. (Photo: [© Courtesy of Alexey Kvasov/The World Bank](#))



U.S. Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson (left) meets with Russia's Prime Minister Vladimir Putin during his visit to Moscow on June 30, 2008. (AFP/Getty Images)



Secretary of State Madeleine Albright (left) and Secretary of State Colin Powell (right) greet Russia's President Vladimir Putin.



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice talks to Vladimir Putin in Russia on April 20, 2005. ([AP/Wide World Photo](#))



Anne R. Luzatto talks to Anatoly Chubais, former Finance Minister of Russia, at the Harold Pratt House on May 21, 1999. This photo was published in the 1990 edition of the Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report.



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice watches Secretary of Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates (left) greet Russia's President Vladimir Putin in Moscow on October 12, 2007. Robert M. Gates was the Director of Central Intelligence Agency from 1991 to 1993 under George H.W. Bush; Putin was a KGB agent. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)



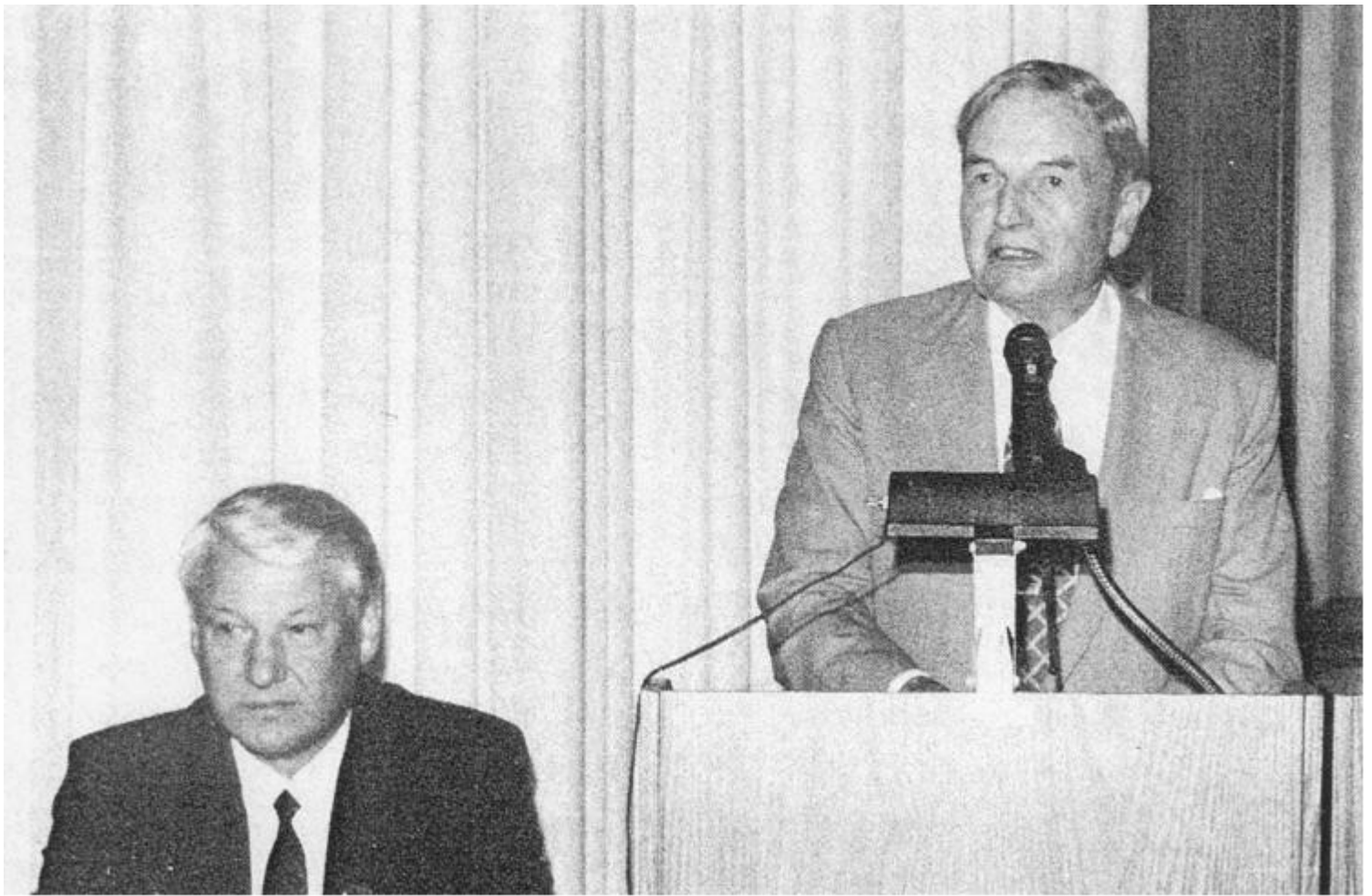
Russian President Vladimir Putin (left) talks to Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Walter B. Slocombe (center) and President Bill Clinton in Catherine's Hall in the Kremlin. Both Slocombe and Clinton are Rhodes Scholars and members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Russia's President Dmitry Medvedev shakes hands with former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright before his speech at the Washington Club in Washington, D.C. on Saturday, November 15, 2008. Medvedev visited Washington to attend the Summit on Financial Markets and the World Economy on Saturday. (Reuters) http://www.daylife.com/photo/05QA3KA14gbEs/madeleine_albright



Russian President Dmitry Medvedev (L) shakes hands with former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (R) on June 17, 2008. (AFP/Getty Images) <http://www.daylife.com/photo/03VZdYM3ky9Fq>



Boris Yeltsin (left), future President of Russia and member of the Soviet Congress of People's Deputies, listens as David Rockefeller delivers a speech at a Council on Foreign Relations meeting on September 11, 1989. This photo was published in the 1990 edition of the Council on Foreign Relations Annual Report.



Left to right: Former Russian Premier Yevgeny Primakov, former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, and former U.S. Senator and Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI) Co-Chairman Sam Nunn pose for a photo after a press conference in Moscow on March 20, 2009. Kissinger and Nunn are members of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Getty Images)



As a fifteen-year-old boy in Budapest at war's end, Soros was at times forced to turn over his wristwatches to Russian soldiers. In 1999 he quite happily presented a watch to the Russian admiral who welcomed him to a once-secret naval base in Kaliningrad, where the admiral expressed his appreciation for a Soros program that trained midlevel officers to become private entrepreneurs.

(Source: *Soros: The Life and Times of a Messianic Billionaire* by Michael T. Kaufman)



Left photo: Left to right: Unidentified, James Wolfensohn, former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Fox News baron Rupert Murdoch, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, former Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev, former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, Jean-Claude Trichet, and retired U.S. Army General Colin Powell appear at the Global Forum 2000 Conference held at the World Trade Center in New York City on April 24, 2000.



Right photo: Condoleezza Rice visits Russia's President Vladimir Putin.



Left to right: Henry Kissinger, Rupert Murdoch, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Mikhail Gorbachev, and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich appear at the Global Forum 2000 Conference held at the World Trade Center in New York City on April 24, 2000. Everyone except for Mikhail Gorbachev is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Timothy Fadek/Sygma/Corbis)



Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice and Russia's President Vladimir Putin sit on a couch in Moscow, Russia on October 21, 2006. ([Melissa H. Russell, State Department](#))



Mikhail Gorbachev (L), former President of the Soviet Union, talks with George Tenet, former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City on October 22, 2005 prior to receiving the Athenagoras Humanitarian Award. The Award was presented at the annual banquet of the Order of St. Andrew, an organization of distinguished laymen of the Greek Orthodox Church who have been granted the title of Archon by the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. (© Justin Lane/EPA/Corbis)



Former Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (left) speaks with former Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci (right) through a translator (center) during a symposium to celebrate the 20th anniversary of "Perestroika" at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce in Washington, D.C. on October 21, 2005. (Photo by Brendan Smialowski/Getty Images)



Defense Secretary William S. Cohen receives a gift from Russia's President Boris Yeltsin.



CIA Director Robert Gates (left) visits Russia's President Boris Yeltsin at the Kremlin in 1992. Gates was the first CIA Director to "officially" visit Moscow. Also shown are Victor Barannikov, right, former Minister of Security, and Yvgeny Primakov, second from right, former head of the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, the successor to the KGB. (AP/Wide World Photos)



President Bill Clinton plays the saxophone presented to him by Russian President Boris Yeltsin at a private dinner hosted by Yeltsin at Novoya Ogarova Dacha, Russia on January 13, 1994.



Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Paul Wolfowitz talks to Boris Yeltsin on June 20, 1991 at the Pentagon. I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby is seen standing between Wolfowitz and Yeltsin.

(Source: *Rise of the Vulcans: The History of Bush's War Cabinet* by James Mann)



George Soros meets with Boris Yeltsin in Moscow.
(Source: *Soros: The Life and Times of a Messianic Billionaire* by Michael T. Kaufman)



Former U.S. Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger, left, and George Shultz, right, and Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, center, stand together during their meeting in Moscow, Russia on October 12, 2005. [AP/Wide World Photo]
 (Source: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/pix/b/eur/79086.htm>)



Left photo: New England Patriots owner Robert Kraft (left) and Fox News baron Rupert Murdoch watch Russia's President Vladimir Putin try on the New England Patriots Super Bowl ring before Putin pocketed it. Robert Kraft and Rupert Murdoch are members of the Council on Foreign Relations.



Right photo: Russian President Vladimir Putin holds the diamond-encrusted 2005 Super Bowl ring as Robert Kraft (left), News Corp. Chairman Rupert Murdoch (second left), and Citigroup Chairman Sanford Weill (right) look on. (AP Photo)
<http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2005/06/29/world/main705120.shtml>



Meeting Russian President Vladimir Putin in November 2001. As our host in the early days of the war in Afghanistan, Putin was eager to impress—but not to listen.

(Courtesy of the Department of Defense)

Douglas Feith (left), the Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, greets Russia's President Vladimir Putin (right) in November 2001 as Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld is seen talking to Putin. (Photo: U.S. Department of Defense)
 (Source: *War and Decision: Inside the Pentagon at the Dawn of the War on Terrorism* by Douglas J. Feith)



President George W. Bush (far left) and Deputy National Security Advisor Stephen Hadley (far right) watch Secretary of State Colin Powell embraces Russian President Vladimir Putin during a meeting in Santiago, Chile on November 20, 2004.
 ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))



Russian President Dmitry Medvedev (3rd L) speaks with U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates (3rd R) during their meeting at the presidential residence at Gorki, Russia, a city located outside of Moscow, on March 22, 2011. U.S. President Barack Obama ordered American military operations in Libya in an attempt to end a political uprising and civil war in Libya. (Reuters)



U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Defense Minister of Russia Anatoly Serdyukov (left) shake hands after holding a press conference in St. Petersburg, Russia on March 22, 2011. (Getty Images)



Prime Minister of Russia Vladimir Putin receives Thomas E. Donilon (left), National Security Advisor to the President of the United States, in Moscow, Russia on May 4, 2012.



Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld (left) inspects the Russian army at Victory Park during an armed forces honors ceremony welcoming him to Moscow, Russia on August 11, 2001. Rumsfeld is escorted by Military Commandant of Moscow General-Major Aleksandr N. Denisov (right, saluting). Rumsfeld was in Russia to meet with Russian defense leaders and discuss the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. Donald Rumsfeld is a former member of the Council on Foreign Relations. (Photo by Helene C. Stikkel, U.S. Department of Defense)

George H.W. Bush & Russia



George H.W. Bush, the Vice President of the United States, meets with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev (center) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (left) on March 4, 1985. (Dave Valdez/White House photo)



Right photo: Former U.S. President George H.W. Bush embraces former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev (left) before the presentation of the Liberty Medal at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia on September 18, 2008. Gorbachev is the 2008 recipient of the award that recognizes individuals and organizations that have demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty of conscience or freedom from oppression, ignorance, or deprivation. ([Reuters](#))



U.S. Vice President George Bush (left) meets with Soviet dictator Yuri Andropov in November 1982. Yuri Andropov was a former Chairman of the KGB. George Bush was a former Director of the Central Intelligence Agency. (UPI/Bettman)

(Source: *For the President's Eyes Only: Secret Intelligence and the American Presidency from Washington to Bush* by Christopher Andrew)



George H.W. Bush (left) and James A. Baker III (right) visits Russia's President and former KGB agent Vladimir Putin.



*To Kate and Sadri
With the hope that this handshake will lead to a more peaceful
world. Love from all Bushes - Ag/*

This was taken at Malta, December 2, 1989. I sent it to my friends
Catherine and Sadruddin Aga Khan. (Bush Library photo.)

President George H.W. Bush shakes hands with Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev at Malta on December 2, 1989.
This photo appears in George H.W. Bush's own book *All The Best: My Life in Letters and Other Writings*. (Bush Library photo)

"This is an historic moment. We have in this past year made great progress in ending the long era of conflict and cold war. We have before us the opportunity to forge for ourselves and for future generations a **new world order** – a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations. When we are successful -- and we will be -- we have a real chance at this **new world order**, an order in which a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the U.N.'s founders."

– President George H.W. Bush, in a speech delivered in the Oval Office on January 16, 1991

To: Ron Wade -
With pleasant memory of this historic 1989 meeting
at Malta - Cy Paul



President George H.W. Bush meets with Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev in Malta in 1989.



Russia's President Vladimir Putin (left) meets with George H.W. Bush (center) and James A. Baker III at Rice University in Houston, Texas on November 14, 2001. (Presidential Press and Information Office/Kremlin Archives) <http://archive.kremlin.ru/events/photos/2001/11/39974.shtml>



Vice President George Bush, President Ronald Reagan, and Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev stand together on Governor's Island in New York City on December 7, 1988. (Photo: Ronald Reagan Library)



President George Bush shakes hands with Boris Yeltsin on January 3, 1993. (Photo: George H.W. Bush Presidential Library)



Former U.S. President George H.W. Bush (left) talks to former Dictator of the Soviet Union Mikhail Gorbachev (right) before the presentation of the Liberty Medal at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on September 18, 2008. ([Reuters](#))



American President George W. Bush (right), the son of former President George H.W. Bush, and Russia's President Vladimir Putin smile for the camera at the G8 Summit in St. Petersburg, Russia in July 2006. ([AP Photo](#))



Russia's President Vladimir Putin, a former KGB agent, is flanked by former President George H.W. Bush (left) and President George W. Bush (right) at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine on Sunday, July 1, 2007. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))



Former President George H.W. Bush (left) and President George W. Bush (right) watches Russia's President Vladimir Putin hold up his catch with the help of fishing guide Billy Bush during a morning outing at Walker's Point in Kennebunkport, Maine on Monday, July 2, 2007. ([White House photo by Eric Draper](#))

From Russia With Love?

Corporate Amerika in Soviet Russia



**At the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union
in Moscow on 18 January 1989**

*[From left to right] David Rockefeller, Georges Berthoin, Mikhail Gorbachev,
Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, Henry Kissinger, Yasuhiro Nakasone, Yoshio Okawara*

David Rockefeller, the founder of the Trilateral Commission, and other members of the Trilateral Commission visit Soviet Commissar Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow, Soviet Union on **January 18, 1989**.

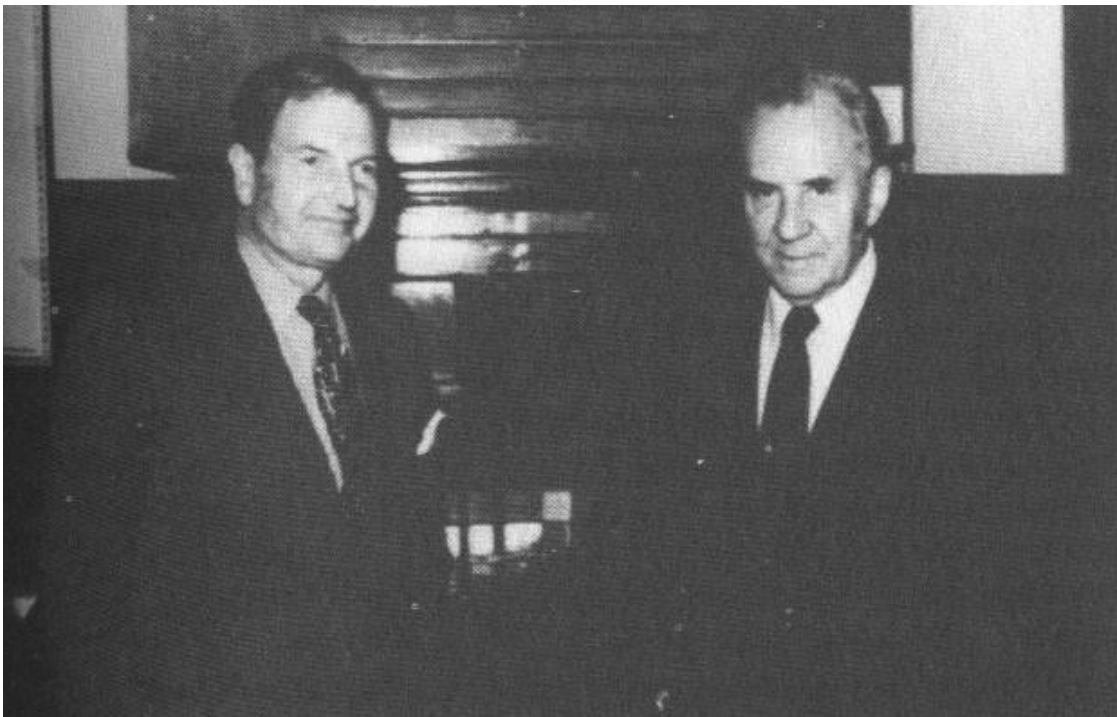
(Source: http://www.trilateral.org/download/doc/Commemorating_1989.pdf)

“Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement towards a **new world order**.”

– Mikhail Gorbachev, in a speech delivered at the United Nations in December 1988



David Rockefeller (left), President of Chase Manhattan Bank, and his daughter Neva Rockefeller (second from left) greet Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (right) at the Kremlin in Moscow, Soviet Union on July 29, 1964. **David Rockefeller attended the March 1964 Bilderberg Meetings held in Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.**
 (Photo: *Memoirs* by David Rockefeller/Wide World Photos)



American capitalist David Rockefeller (left), the President of Chase Manhattan Bank banking firm in New York City, visits Soviet Communist bureaucrat Aleksei Kosygin in Moscow, Soviet Union. David Rockefeller is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, a private organization in New York City.



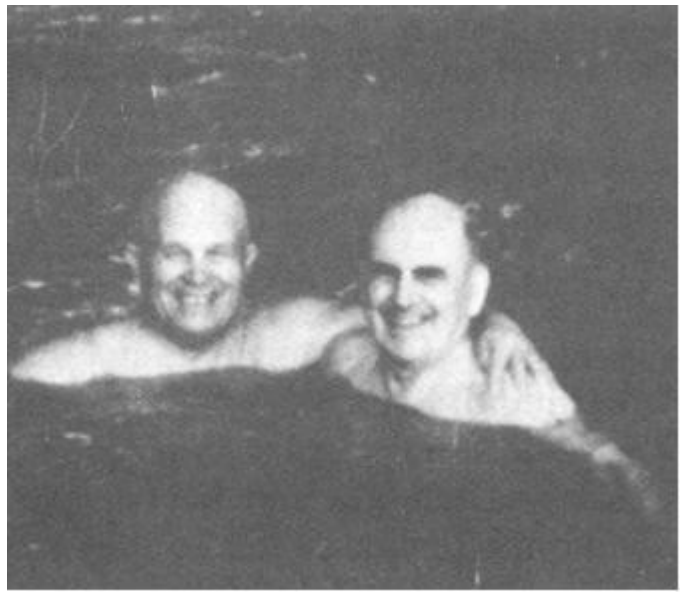
Thomas J. Watson Jr. (left), **President of International Business Machines (IBM)**, entertains Nikita Khrushchev while touring IBM's manufacturing plant in San Jose, California in 1959. His father Thomas J. Watson Sr. visited Adolf Hitler before World War II. Thomas J. Watson Jr. was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations; Thomas J. Watson Jr. was the U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union from 1979 to 1981.



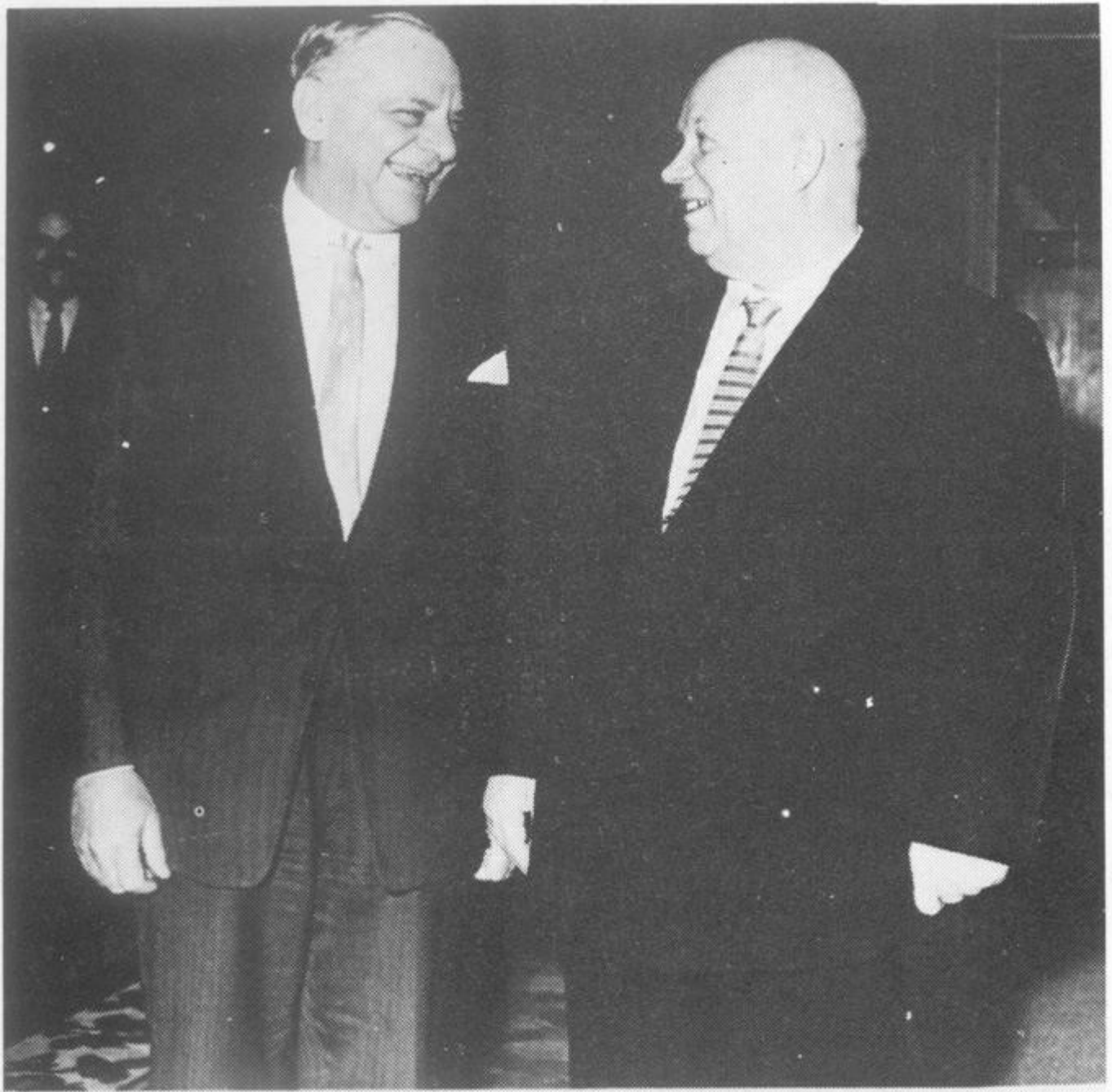
Thomas J. Watson Jr. (left), the President of IBM, and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (center) laugh together as they stand holding trays in line with others at IBM plant's company cafeteria in San Jose, California on September 22, 1959. (Photo: Carl Mydans/Time Life)



Left photo: Nelson Rockefeller (left) greets Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City.



Right photo: Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev (left) and former Chairman of Chase Manhattan Bank John McCloy smile for the camera while relaxing in a swimming pool together at Nikita Khrushchev's house in the Soviet Union. This photograph was published in Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas' book *The Wise Men: Six Friends and The World They Made*.



Господину А. Хаммеру
Первому концессионеру, исследовавшему с В.И. Лениным
18-й. 1961. С наилучшими пожеланиями Н. Хрущев

Russian-born American capitalist Armand Hammer (left), **Chairman of Occidental Petroleum**, greets Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev in Moscow in 1961. This photo was published in Armand Hammer's autobiography *Hammer*.



Armand Hammer (left), the Chairman of Occidental Petroleum, visits Soviet Ambassador to the U.S. Anatoly Dobrynin on September 22, 1982. This photo was published in Armand Hammer's autobiography *Hammer*.



Armand Hammer, the Chairman of Occidental Petroleum, greets Soviet Commissar Aleksei Kosygin (left) and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko (center). This photo was published in Armand Hammer's autobiography *Hammer*.



Armand Hammer, the Chairman of Occidental Petroleum, talks to Leonid Brezhnev in his office in Moscow in 1973. Armand Hammer was a Soviet collaborator; Hammer was a close friend of Soviet Godfather Vladimir Lenin during the early 1920s. This photo was published in Armand Hammer's autobiography *Hammer*.



Armand Hammer (center), Chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Company, confers with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Washington, D.C. on December 9, 1987 as they attend a luncheon at the State Department. Secretary of State George Shultz is seen standing to the right of Armand Hammer. (Bettmann/CORBIS)



A Soviet Russian prison guard escorts a group of prisoners in a Soviet Russian prison camp. (Photo: National Geographic)



Charles Bohlen (left) watches U.S. Ambassador to Soviet Union Averell Harriman (center) shake hands with Soviet Commissar Josef Stalin during a meeting at Yalta Conference in February 1945. Averell Harriman was an international banker (partner of Brown Brothers Harriman & Co. in New York City), a member of the Council on Foreign Relations from 1923 to 1986, and a member of Skull & Bones at Yale University.

“In this irregular fashion the Soviet Union pushed her power further west and south in Europe than the Russian Empire had ever reached. The territorial gains of the Soviet Union itself were relatively modest. In addition to the territorial acquisitions she had made while still “neutral” in 1939-40 at the expense of Poland, Rumania, Finland, and the Baltic states, the U.S.S.R. acquired the Carpatho-Ukraine, which had formerly been part of Czechoslovakia, part of East Prussia, and additional territory from Finland, the most significant part of which, the Petsamo nickel-mining area, made the Soviet boundary coincide with that of Norway. In addition she had acquired a fifty-year lease on the Porkkala peninsula, ideally situated for a naval base in the Gulf of Finland. In the Far East, besides a lease on Port Arthur, in the Yellow Sea, she had recovered southern Sakhalin and acquired the Kurile Islands. Her greatest territorial gains, however, were beyond her technical borders. Apart from her occupation zones in Germany and Austria, her troops held and her puppets ruled a Poland with its center of gravity shifted westward, as well as Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria. Yugoslavia, though Soviet troops had been withdrawn, seemed secure on the basis of close relations with Tito; a similar situation existed in Albania. Soviet troops received the Japanese surrender in Manchuria; they soon withdrew, but in such fashion as to allow that territory to be taken over by the Chinese Communists rather than by the Nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek; nor did the Soviet government neglect, during its brief occupation of Manchuria, to remove to Russia as much as possible of the physical equipment of Japanese-owned plants in that area, as well as to send the Japanese soldiers into Soviet labor camps. **In North Korea, occupied by Soviet forces pending establishment of a provisional government for the whole of Korea, a puppet Communist government was promptly set up. Soviet troops remained also in the northwestern corner of Iran, where they had been guarding the American supply line.** In addition, the Communists supported strong “underground” movements, sometimes in control of extensive territory, in areas where Stalin had conceded to Churchill a preponderant influence for Britain. Outstanding was the case of Greece, where the “EAM” and its fighting organization, “ELAS,” offered strong resistance to British postwar occupation and provoked a civil war. Even in France and Italy, numerically strong Communist parties seemed a threat to the stability of these “liberated” countries. The Communists made no attempt to incorporate the huge area of Eastern Europe into the Soviet Union or even immediately to introduce the characteristic features of Soviet economy. Even today, what are commonly called the “satellite states” are not rated as “socialist republics” but only as “people’s democracies.” This was not at all the result of promises made, either at Yalta or elsewhere, nor was it an indication that the Communists had abandoned their dream of world revolution. Rather, it was one more proof of what was already patent enough, namely, that they were principally guided by concern for the interests of the state they ruled as the heirs of the Russian Emperors. Politically they exercised complete control through the handful of adherents (on the style of Germany’s Quislings) they attracted in each of the new subject nationalities, backed by their own tested machinery of secret police and arbitrary punishments. In each case they worked through a “front,” in which the Communists took key positions in control of the police and the army. With whatever misgivings, leaders of the several national movements agreed to cooperate with their Communist ministerial colleagues; themselves generally believers in genuine democracy, they could not fairly be expected to be more omniscient than the chairman and chief spokesman of the “Big Three” had been. The populations of the several countries, exhausted by their horrifying experiences under Nazi rule and with no possibility of finding aid from the democratic West, had no choice but to submit to the new form of oppression; hating the Russians, but hating also the Germans, and with no love for the other neighbor nations in the same position as themselves, they could only bide their time and hope for a change in the international situation. There was no possibility that such sullenly hostile peoples could be taken into the structure of the Soviet Union itself. **The people whose independent spirit seemed most to be feared were the Poles; but a Poland almost half of whose territories had been forcibly taken from Germany had to depend on Russian support to maintain her national existence, such as it was. The “satellite states,” however, served purposes useful to the Soviet Union. For one thing, they constituted a broad belt—a new form of *cordon sanitaire* which helped to isolate Russia from the “capitalist” West; so long as they could be prevented from establishing independent relations with the West, they constituted a valuable glacis protecting the Russian “socialist” fortress.** Economically, too, they were a great advantage to the Soviet Union. The very fact that no attempt was currently being made to extend to them the anticipated blessings of the communism toward which the Soviet Union was striving made it quite unnecessary to promote their rapid economic development. Instead, they could be and were initially used as a sort of colonial empire, the resources of which, in mercantilist spirit, were at the free disposal of their “protector,” to aid in the restoration of its own devastated economy.”

— *A History of Russia* by Jesse D. Clarkson, p. 681-683

Major Events in Czarist Russia and the Soviet Union

March 13-15, 1898: First Party Congress is held
July 30-August 23, 1903: Second Party Congress is held
February 8, 1904: Beginning of Russo-Japanese War; Japan attacks the Russian fleet at Port Arthur (China)
January 22, 1905: "Bloody Sunday" Protest; police kill more than 100 demonstrators in St. Petersburg
May 27-28, 1905: Imperial Japanese Navy defeats the Russian Navy at the Battle of Tsushima
September 5, 1905: Signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth (peace treaty ending Russo-Japanese War) by Japan and Russia
June 26, 1907: Bank Robbery in Tbilisi, Georgia
September 14, 1911: Assassination of Russian Prime Minister Pytro Stolypin at the Kiev Opera House
December 30, 1916: Assassination of Russian monk Grigori Rasputin
March 15, 1917: Abdication of Czar Nicholas II of Russia
April 1917: Russian Communist revolutionaries Vladimir Lenin and Leon Trotsky return to Russia
November 7, 1917: Beginning of the October Revolution; Lenin's Bolsheviks seize power in Petrograd
March 3, 1918: Russia signs the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany
July 17, 1918: Czar Nicholas II of Russia and his family (including his children) are executed
August 1918 – July 1920: Siberian Intervention: Allied militaries intervene in Russia and occupy Vladivostok
March 2, 1919: The Communist International (Comintern) is founded
July 8, 1920: United States of America imposes a trade embargo on the Soviet Union
March 18, 1921: Russia signs the Treaty of Riga with Poland
April 3, 1922: Josef Stalin becomes the General Secretary of the Communist Party
December 30, 1922: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is established
January 21, 1924: Death of Vladimir Lenin
October 1, 1928: Josef Stalin introduces the first Five-Year Plan
January 1929: Leon Trotsky is exiled from the Soviet Union
November 16, 1933: United States of America establishes diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union
September 18, 1934: Soviet Union joins the League of Nations
March 1938: Third "show trial" in Moscow is held
August 23, 1939: Germany-Soviet Union Non-Aggression Treaty (Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact) is signed in Moscow
November 30, 1939: Soviet Union invades Finland during the Soviet-Finnish War
December 14, 1939: League of Nations expels the Soviet Union
August 3-6, 1940: Soviet Union annexes Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia
August 21, 1940: Leon Trotsky is assassinated in Mexico
April 13, 1941: Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Treaty is signed by German and Japanese envoys
June 22, 1941: Nazi German invasion of Soviet Union (Operation Barbarossa)
August 25, 1941 – September 17, 1941: Anglo-Soviet Invasion of Iran
February 4-11, 1945: Yalta Conference is held in the Crimea [Soviet Ukraine]
May 8, 1945: V-E Day; Soviet Red Army presides over surrender of Nazi German military in Berlin
June 24, 1948 – May 12, 1949: Berlin Blockade imposed by Soviet authorities in East Germany
February 14, 1950: Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance is signed in Moscow
March 5, 1953: Death of Josef Stalin
May 14, 1955: Warsaw Pact (Warsaw Treaty Organization of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance) is established
November 4, 1956: Soviet Red Army crushes the Hungarian Revolution in Hungary
October 4, 1957: Soviet space satellite Sputnik is launched
May 1, 1960: The U-2 Spy Plane Incident (Soviets shoot down an American spy plane flying over Soviet Union)
August 13, 1961: Berlin Wall is constructed in East Berlin
October 22-November 2, 1962: Cuban Missile Crisis
August 21, 1968: Soviet Red Army crushes Prague Spring in Czechoslovakia
May 26, 1972: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) Treaty and Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (ABM Treaty) are signed in Moscow between American and Soviet Russia
June 18, 1979: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II) Treaty is signed in Vienna, Austria by American and Soviet leaders
December 24, 1979 – February 15, 1989: Soviet War in Afghanistan
July 31, 1991: START Treaty (disarmament treaty) is signed in Moscow by America and Soviet Russia
August 19-21, 1991: August Coup (attempted overthrow of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev)
December 26, 1991: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is dissolved

Lenin in Zurich: A Memoir

By [Valeriu Marcu](#)

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RUSSIA, the Russian Revolution, Siberia, the Peter and Paul Fortress, were magic words to us young revolutionists in Zurich in 1912. We saw the Russian exiles who came to that city in the light of Russian literature. The fact that this most recent generation of refugees from the Tsar was completely different from the heroes of the famous novels did not affect us. What reality can be stronger than a preconceived ideal?

Our Russians were absolutely unsentimental. They used sentiment now and then, as politicians often do. All of them had flight, deportation and a court trial behind them. But it never occurred to them to speak about their past. They would have regarded such talk as childish or as an offense against good taste. They were attractive not only because of their readiness to discuss everything, their willingness to teach without pedantry or didacticism, but, above all, because of their ardent interest in every problem. They were all eternal -- and eternally young -- students whose thirst for knowledge would never be quenched. In contrast, a French or German Socialist lost his curiosity about mankind as soon as his prudent leaders presented him with a job in the political or administrative machine, or sent him to Parliament.

The Russians we knew in Zurich also displayed the dross in human nature, and sometimes it was as apparent to the beholder as the stains on their clothes. The energy they wasted intriguing against each other would have sufficed to rule a gigantic empire. Yet this must be granted: they were not self-satisfied. Every one of them was in a state of permanent revolution against himself, against his closest party comrades, and against God. These exiles felt the war and the postwar problems directly, concretely, in their own flesh. Politics never left them for a moment. It was like a chronic illness. They dreamed of it, and if they talked in their sleep, surely it was only of things political. Their hope was to track down the germs of war. They worked like bacteriologists to disclose its essential causes. These they hoped to find in books about the recent past.

I clearly recall Karl Radek standing in the middle of his room in front of a hill of books. **Radek was the man who, according to all the respectable citizens of Europe, was commissioned by Moscow and the Third International to organize the postwar putsches in Germany, Austria, Hungary, Spain and Lithuania.** For relaxation Radek read detective stories before going to bed; he once told me that he had to escape the pressure of politics for at least one hour in every twenty-four. The day after each important event of the war he had a pamphlet ready, but only rarely did it find a publisher. Martov, the best stylist among the Russian exiles, nicknamed him "Pamphletovich." **The Russians, and particularly Radek, liked to be published in German. Just as Hebrew is a sacred language to the Jews because the Lord of Creation spoke it, so German was sacred to the Russians because it was the language of Karl Marx.**

Martov for years had been at the opposite revolutionary pole from Lenin. Since the first year of the twentieth century he had been the leading polemicist of the Socialist tendency called Menshevism. This was rooted in the German and French traditions more than in the Russian. He fought the other Socialist faction, the Bolsheviks, because he felt that they and their leader Lenin harbored dictatorial ambitions.

Delicate in build, sickly, somewhat stooping, with a pale face partly covered by a dishevelled beard, with hollow cheeks and kindly, shining eyes, Martov used to sit surrounded by friends in the Café St. Annahof. Every two or three hours he changed tables. At intervals, he would retire to write, returning later to read an extraordinary essay in German, French, Russian or English, according to his audience. Sometimes he vanished for days. Worried newcomers to his circle who asked where he had gone would be told that he had buried himself in some library to study the latest happenings in France, Germany or Russia. Lenin said of him: "Martov studies himself into error."

Lenin had no difficulty in defeating an adversary who refused to understand the necessity of unrestrained violence. Less than two years after Lenin's accession to power, Martov was compelled to leave Moscow, to emigrate once more. A few days before that cruel end, during which his nerves died one by one in a long agony, Lenin, scarcely able to speak, murmured to his wife -- they were perhaps his last words -- "I hear that Martov, too, is dying?" Martov had died of tuberculosis a few months before.

In Zurich, during the first months of war, Lenin and Martov had come close to each other, and both were happy about it. But their accord was short-lived and they soon began a furious battle of ink against each other. Martov told me that, in the last analysis, Lenin was only the brigand chief of a party that had no real existence. These harsh words of course only increased my desire to see Lenin. I met him in a restaurant which served home-cooked meals, run by a Frau Prellog on the second floor of a dilapidated, weather-beaten house in a narrow little street near the Limmat Quai. The restaurant was in reality a dimly lit corridor, long and narrow, with bare walls and a long, unpainted wooden table that took up most of the space. The place smelled more like a moldy cellar than a restaurant. One door served as the entrance; another, always open, led to the kitchen. Around the table sat six to eight guests on wooden chairs; an equal number of chairs were usually empty. Frau Prellog was extremely busy,

as she both cooked the meals and served her customers. She had lived in Vienna for a long time and spoke a peculiar Swiss-Austrian dialect. She was a plump blonde in her early forties, far more appetizing than her thin soups, dried-out roasts and cheap desserts.

When I reached the restaurant Lenin had not yet arrived, and I sat down with Kharitonov, a friend who had undertaken to introduce me to him. The company fascinated me. The men were all young, bold-looking, enigmatic figures. The only lady at the table was not enigmatic at all. She was called Red Maria, not because of her political opinions, but because of her red-blond hair. Maria had a regular, oval face like a Madonna, big blue eyes, long eyelashes and a bass voice which contrasted strangely with her delicate appearance. She immediately asked us, in a voice which drowned out all the men, who we were, what we wanted, who had given us Frau Prellog's address and whether we intended to become regular customers. We could see that the whole group were rather suspicious of us. I explained that I wanted to speak with Mr. Ulyanov -- Lenin was known here by his true name. At that Maria became voluble. She said, among other things, that the Ulyanovs were excellent people.

When Lenin arrived with his wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, he took a seat near Red Maria. She found in him a willing listener, indeed he listened to her so attentively that it did not occur to me to interrupt. Moreover, her tale of woe interested me. Her troubles were of a worldly, material kind. She said that she had had two lovers; now one was a soldier in Italy, the other in Germany. This war, she continued, was nothing but a robbery of men, a dirty trick invented by the rich. Then she went on to tell the favorite story of ladies of her kind: that she had to support her old mother and younger sisters and brothers. Nadezhda Konstantinovna, too, listened with interest.

Gradually, the other guests left the restaurant. Only Lenin, his wife, Kharitonov, Maria, Frau Prellog and I remained at the long table. Shortly before our arrival Frau Prellog had quarreled with Maria. Lenin tried to effect a reconciliation between them, and succeeded. Frau Prellog was not too stubborn; like Maria, she loved any opportunity of telling her troubles. She complained that some of her guests had failed to pay their bills, that meat was expensive, that soon it would be rationed. This, she said, was a measure directed only against the poor. Wealthy people, of course, would always manage to get their steaks. Oh, this accursed war! She could not understand why the soldiers did not shoot their officers and return home without further ado. Lenin's face shone with pleasure at these words. He looked at us with a satisfied air.

When we left the restaurant it was late in the afternoon. I walked home with Lenin.

"You see," he said, "why I take my meals here. You get to know what people are really thinking about. Nadezhda Konstantinovna is sure that only the Zurich underworld frequents this place, but I think she is mistaken. To be sure, Maria is a prostitute. But she does not like her trade. She has a large family to support -- and that is no easy matter. As to Frau Prellog, she is perfectly right. Did you hear what she said? Shoot the officers! A magnificent woman. Such opinions are very important."

In front of their house in the Spiegelgasse I took leave of Lenin and his wife.

"I should like to talk with you about things in greater detail," I said. "We can't do it at Frau Prellog's."

"Yes, with pleasure," he said. "I read an article you wrote about disarmament. That reminds me: Radek told me you were friendly with Martov. Do you sympathize with the Mensheviks?"

"I am neither Menshevik nor Bolshevik," I replied. "We in the Werdstrasse are the most radical group of all and we have our own theory."

"I see, I see," Lenin nodded. "That is very interesting." Then, after a short silence: "Come to see me tomorrow at 4 o'clock; I'll keep that time open for you."

My friend Kharitonov had not walked to the Spiegelgasse with us. The next day when I went to see Lenin there, I asked him to go with me. As soon as we entered the room, I began to speak. After about half an hour I noticed something like an expression of boredom on Lenin's face and stopped.

"What you have just said," he declared, "is false; completely, utterly false. We cannot be against every war. We must instead learn to distinguish the character of each particular war. We admire, for instance, the French revolutionary wars against old Europe, we admire Cromwell's campaigns, we admire Washington's war against London.

"We are against this particular war, which began in August 1914, because its aim is the further enslavement of the five continents, the promotion of the export of capital. This war is the continuation of the policies pursued between 1898 and 1914. Every war is an instrument of politics. This war is an instrument in the hands of the Russian Tsar, the German Kaiser, the Berlin,

Paris and London bankers. I am against these people, and for that reason I hope that my country suffers a cruel and crushing defeat. It is my duty to hope so. Do you know the real meaning of this war?"

"What is it?" I asked.

"It is obvious," he replied. "One slaveholder, Germany, who owns one hundred slaves, is fighting another slaveholder, England, who owns two hundred slaves, for a 'fairer' distribution of the slaves."

"How can you expect to foster hatred of this war," I asked at this point, "if you are not, in principle, against all wars? I thought that as a Bolshevik you were really a radical thinker and refused to make any compromise with the idea of war. But by recognizing the validity of some wars, you open the doors for every opportunity. Every group can find some justification for the particular war of which it approves. I see that we young people can count only on ourselves. We refuse to accept a new justification of war even in the name of science."

Lenin listened attentively, his head bent toward me. He moved his chair closer to mine, while Krupskaya, who until this moment had been sitting on her bed like an impassive ghost, broke into a broad smile. She seemed suddenly interested and pleased. This irritated me, because I took it as a sign that she was against me. There was a short silence in the room. Lenin must have wondered whether he should continue to talk with this boy or not. I, somewhat awkwardly, remained silent.

"Your determination to rely upon yourselves," Lenin finally replied, "is very important. Every man must rely on himself. Yet he should also listen to what informed people have to say. I don't know how radical you are or how radical I am. I am certainly not radical enough. One can never be radical enough; that is, one must always try to be as radical as reality itself, and then let the devil and the fools worry about whether one is radical enough. War, however, does not ask me, nor the other Bolsheviks, nor you, whether we accept it."

He looked at me intently, as though trying to read my thoughts, and then went on in a hard voice: "At any rate, one thing is astonishing to me: you and your friends want to transform this entire world which reeks from every pore with baseness, slavery and war, and yet you renounce the use of violence in advance."

"Not at all," I explained, deeply offended. "We do not renounce violence, because that would mean that we renounce the revolution."

"Well, well," said Lenin, "what then is war? What is it but a form of violence? The twentieth century and modern imperialism have mobilized the masses. Every rebellion, every revolution is only a form of war. You can't separate war from revolution or revolution from war. The line of demarcation between them is indefinite and shifting. You cannot say where war ends and revolution begins. Those who expect the revolution to grow out of a peaceful situation, from so-called orderly conditions, do not desire it at all. Revolutions arise in the most complicated situations; most often they result from so-called transitional situations, which contain the sharpest contradictions. I took part in one revolution in Russia, in 1905. It consisted of a number of struggles in which all the discontented classes, groups and elements of the population took part. Among them were large groups who harbored the wildest prejudices and pursued the vaguest and most fantastic aims. There were little groups in the pay of Japan. There were profiteers and adventurers."

I listened with growing curiosity and interest. An hour, perhaps two, went by. Calmly but persistently he tried to convince me. Now and then he raised his finger and pointed at me. He spoke slowly and searchingly, in German with a Russian accent. Sometimes he could not find the word he wanted, and I would suggest one to him. He would nod his head almost imperceptibly and thank me. I became so interested in his ideas that I wanted to ask him not to stop. And my mistrust vanished. This man, who spoke so seriously about the revolution, I thought, was certainly no counter-revolutionary. I felt ready to reconcile myself with him. From an innate inclination to friendship, and also from my fear of being seduced by arguments that I was unable to answer at that moment, I said suddenly, without apparent reason: "Comrade Lenin, will you give me your word of honor never to betray the revolution, like the other leaders of Socialism who are pro-war?"

He had to collect himself before he could understand my question. Kharitonov, who until now had not said a word, burst out laughing, and so did Krupskaya. Their laughter seemed to me an expression of bad taste, and on the part of Kharitonov a direct betrayal, the beginning of an enmity. Lenin did not laugh. My question surprised but did not seem to displease him.

"Distrust," he said, "is a good quality in a revolutionary. I shall always try to do my best. But you must promise me to do the same."

"What must I do?" I asked eagerly.

"Learn," said he. "Stop talking so wildly and vaguely. I say that not only to you but to your friends. You always talk of revolution in general. This is just as false as to talk about war in general. Nothing can be more dangerous for young people than to know the names of things, but not their real meaning. Only a traitor or a stupid person can speak today of revolution without war, or of total disarmament."

"We shall correct our thesis on disarmament," I said, quite shaken.

"There won't be much left of it once it is corrected," he said, "or else our conversation has been in vain."

He rummaged in a drawer for a piece of paper and said: "In my article for your magazine I wrote: 'An oppressed class which does not strive to learn the use of weapons, to practice the use of weapons, to own weapons, deserves only to be mistreated. If the war today creates only fear in the petty bourgeoisie, only reluctance to make use of weapons, only terror before blood and death, we on the contrary say in answer to this feeling: capitalist society has always been terror without end. If an end by terror is not being prepared for this society, we have no reason to despair. The demand for disarmament in the present-day world is nothing but an expression of despair.'"

He was silent for a while and then concluded, with emotion: "Study and re-study war and revolution. Great things are going to happen soon, they are bound to happen. Yes, everything may be changed from top to bottom, overnight."

To be treated as an equal, despite all the sharp criticism, was a new experience for me. The other Russians, with all their patience and friendliness, had always been distant. They contented themselves with expounding their own ideas. They never said: go home, open your mind, try to understand things for yourself, learn. With Lenin I had the impression that I was an important ally, and that I had to study hard to pass the real test of revolution. I did not know then that Lenin spoke seriously to everyone who was interested in serious questions.

"Do you think," I asked him excitedly, dropping my theoretical preoccupations, "that the revolution will break soon?"

"Perhaps in two, perhaps in five, at the latest in ten years."

Lenin's plan was unparalleled in comprehensiveness and boldness, covering all the continents and seas and containing all the elements of the future "total" strategy. He set himself up in opposition to all the warring powers as the representative of another power, and declared relentless war of annihilation against them. He did this not abstractly, not in principle only. He had a definite, concrete strategic scheme according to which he organized the struggle against the warmakers in Berlin, Paris, London and St. Petersburg.

He started from the premise that every war does away with the outworn conventions, shatters the protective shell of a given society, sweeps away everything that has outlived its value, and brings into play the profound drives and forces of that society. He regarded it as his chief task to get into contact with these emerging drives and forces, to organize them in the service of his movement and to direct his action according to their development.

The official strategists of the warring powers used a strategy that may be called horizontal; Lenin had his own "vertical" strategy. Horizontal strategy is in general based on things as they exist, on known facts. A given number of regiments, brigades or divisions move on such and such roads, in such and such directions. They fight such and such engagements, all integrated and directed by the general staff so as to accomplish the broad purpose of the war. Lenin's vertical strategy was based on the powerful forces latent in man. At first these are potential forces; they become actual only as the result of a long political process. Once developed, these forces must be directed by the engineers of revolution, by a small, lucid revolutionary minority. Vertical strategy must cautiously mobilize these changing, still indeterminate, still indefinable forces, and concentrate them for the achievement of its political purposes.

In wartime, political opposition is conceivable only in connection with revolutionary activities. Lenin did not plan invasions from the outside, but from the inside. Every revolutionist must work for the defeat of his own country. To bring about this defeat, the discontented classes in each country must seize the barracks, government offices and other centers of the belligerent imperialists. The main factor was the violence, the force of the attack. The chief task of vertical strategy was to coördinate all the moral, physical, geographical and tactical elements of the universal insurrection, to join together all the hatreds aroused by imperialism on the five continents.

Lenin noted these potential elements of struggle with painstaking exactitude. Every day he commented at length on those little news items published from time to time in obscure sheets, which, to his mind, indicated latent popular unrest. Every day he

wrote articles which formed a sort of political diary. He wrote as though thousands awaited his comment, as though a typesetter were standing outside the door. In reality there was only a leaden, echoless silence.

Lenin was always absorbed in the map of the world. He had an extraordinary feeling for the composition of social bodies, for their political specific gravity, so to speak. To him, the little states were an important element in the anti-imperialist fermentation, a means to be utilized in the total strategy. "The little nations," he wrote, "though powerless as independent factors in the struggle against imperialism, can play an important part in it." For that reason, according to the ever-changing requirements of an all-comprehensive strategy, he was for the right of nations to self-determination. Though an internationalist to the marrow of his bones, he could be nationalistic as a means to the end. He was not only for Irish equality in a common parliament with the English, for Czech and Ukrainian representation in the Austrian and Russian parliaments, but for the right of complete separation.

He advocated colonial uprisings as a revolutionary instrument and a strategic requirement, in order to set in motion simultaneously all the anti-imperialist forces. "In the colonies and semi-colonies there live nearly a billion persons, more than half of the population of the planet. Movements of national liberation in these countries are either very strong already, or are continuing to grow and mature." To coördinate all these elements and link them up with the revolutionary upsurges in the cities was for him the prerequisite of the revolution. The uprising of the industrial workers, the peasants and the lower middle class must be merged with the aspirations of the oppressed nations and colonies. Sooner or later, he thought, an international alliance between the oppressed nations and the revolutionary proletariat would take place.

Sooner or later? Yes, for should Lenin not triumph during this war, should his Third Front, which was just coming into being, not be victorious, then one of the two warring coalitions would win the war -- Germany's or England's. An imperialist peace of plunder would be concluded, and twenty years later, he wrote on October 1, 1916, a war would break out between Japan and the United States. That war "will mean for Europe a retrogression for several decades. History often makes gigantic leaps backward."

Lenin did not communicate to me his grandiose, complex and many-sided conception of war in one short conversation. I visited him frequently under pretext of asking his advice on lesser matters, but really to create opportunities for drawing him into conversation. I often went with him to meetings of Swiss workers which he sat through silently, listening with interest.

He was completely absorbed in the war. He tried to show its economic necessities, its internal laws, in his book "Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism." Every day he went to the library and brought home statistics and reports of the international cartels. He often spoke of his book. He worried about having to compress a gigantic mass of material into 120 pages. (According to his contract with the publishers his book could not exceed that length.) He was a strange sort of scholar, as nervous as a young student before an examination. He also suffered from not being allowed to use strong language in his book, for his publisher was a neutral, and the contract forbade personal attacks on the "opportunists," as Lenin called them. One day I asked him why he worked so hastily and nervously and spent so much time in the library. He replied: "A work that is not completely checked to the last word, cannot be regarded as even begun."

When Lenin discussed politics, one had the feeling that he spoke not as an individual, but as the leader of a great unknown power, whose very spirit was as strong as territories, armies and bureaucracies. This feeling was correct; he was the unknown Caesar of all the tendencies at work against the world of that time. He was the brain of the inner changes in the social body, the forces and elements set free by the war, the process of remolding and recasting the political structure of the world. In him these unconscious changes found their conscious expression. "Only from the changes that take place in the soil of the spirit," says Hegel, "can the new arise."

These reflections on Lenin are not retrospective. They were not brought forth by the fact that he finally succeeded in becoming the head of a Great Power, and that his Russian venture, for better or worse, will challenge the world for centuries to come. The thing that surprised us least about Lenin was that he achieved power. The ten to twelve people who saw him regularly several times a week were convinced of his destiny, firmly convinced that, should there be a revolution in Russia, he would become the successor of the Tsars.

He himself suffered from depression and felt fettered; all he had was the prospect of wider horizons. Sometimes, particularly in the last months of his exile, it seemed to him that his circle was growing smaller and smaller, the life around him less and less intense. So many tested friends of his youth, so many old comrades deserted him. The whole Bolshevik Party at that time consisted of a few friends who corresponded with him from Stockholm, London, New York and Paris. In addition, he had financial worries and was overworked. In 1914, his wife had inherited 2,000 rubles. They lived on this sum for two years. Lenin made efforts to obtain work on an encyclopaedia that was being published in Russia. He finally obtained it toward the end of his exile, but his fee was insignificant. He was at the end of his resources.

But for all his troubles, he roared like a wounded lion when the Tsar's emissaries in Switzerland tried to do what he himself was to do at Brest-Litovsk two years later: negotiate a separate peace. "Russia," he wrote, "intends, with the help of Japan and that very same Germany with which she is now at war, to defeat England in Asia, so that she may annex all of Persia, complete the partition of China and so forth. . . . In 1904-1905 Japan, with the help of the British, defeated Russia; now she is cautiously preparing to defeat England with the help of the Russians. . . . There is a Germanophile party in Russian government circles, among Tsar Nicholas' courtiers, among the nobility and the army."

Lenin knew that if the Russian diplomats succeeded in pulling their wounded and bleeding country out of the war his chances would vanish for many years. He now directed all his fury against the Socialists of the different countries. Every Socialist who spoke of peace was a traitor, a scoundrel, a charlatan. Just as they had up until now handled all the war business of their rulers, he said, so they would take care of their peace business also and save them from bloody catastrophe. "In brief," he told me one day, "the rôles are brilliantly distributed. The government and the military clique wage war. The liberals talk about freedom and democracy. The Socialists talk about peace."

Lenin's hidden, yet ever-growing impatience during this period found an outlet in his persistent and stimulating explanations to us. Krupskaya in her memoirs complains of her husband's depression in those trying days and says: "Young people from Germany, Italy and other countries were then in Zurich and Ilich wanted to share his revolutionary experience with them as much as possible."

It is often said that the past is distorted in our minds and turned into a paradise, that everything in it is seen in a softer light. But those impressions of our encounters with people and events which remain alive, which are in profound harmony with our own innate natures and which shape our perceptions and intellects, are not more and not less an idealization of reality than is our appreciation of our daily bread. At a later period, Leninism, raised to the rank of a state religion, thoroughly disgusted and horrified me. The revolution worn as a lackey's livery with Lenin's picture on the buttons seemed to me an absolute negation of life itself. But I have never forgotten Lenin's approach to things and his manner of seeing them, although he later turned his face in a direction completely different from mine.

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THE SLENDER MARGIN OF SAFETY

By Sir Anthony Eden

SPEAKING at a meeting of Young Conservatives in London this fall, I said that the free world was confused and in considerable danger—greater danger, as I believed, than at any time since 1939. Events since that date have reinforced this warning. The West is not doing well in the cold war because fundamentally it is not united. It has a common purpose, but no common plan. The initiative is too often with the Communist powers. It is true that they do not always use it intelligently, but we should not take too much comfort from that. News of failures on the part of Communist governments does not reach their peoples in the form and with the consequences applicable in Western countries. The Communist sapping and mining will go on, and the frontal attack upon us will be repeated.

The margin of safety is now slender. The West has not the defense in depth which it had even in the darkest days of the war. In 1940, when Hitler's forces had swept through Europe past the Channel ports to the Atlantic Ocean, Britain and its Commonwealth partners stood apparently alone. I write "apparently" because westward there was still a mighty power, its faith and its resources unimpaired. Today, the reserves are all engaged, some perhaps not to the best advantage. The free nations have to think and work much more closely together, and do it soon, or the free world will lose out. To be aware of this danger is not to suggest that it need be accepted; but to understand the nature of our peril is a necessary preliminary to meeting it. The purpose of this article is to consider how such a state of affairs has come about and what we can do to mend it.

The death of Stalin marked the end of an era. For a time it

seemed as if it would also mark the dawn of a new hope. Stalin's rule had been cautious, powerful and ruthless. Under his direction the alliance of the Second World War became the calculated antagonism of the cold war. When that rule ended, it was uncertain for a while what manner of men would follow him, and momentary optimism was strengthened by events. The most important of these was the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Austria in the summer of 1955, the only concession of real significance made by the Communist powers since the war. It might have heralded other changes, since the stationing of troops in Hungary, for instance, had been accepted by Russia's wartime allies only while Hungary was the corridor to occupied Austria.

The criticism of Stalin's conduct of affairs indulged in by Mr. Khrushchev, who was the more pungent personality in the partnership with Bulganin which succeeded Stalin, also encouraged expectation of less rigid policies in the Kremlin. At least it seemed wise to meet the new men and probe the possibilities. The outcome was the first summit, in July 1955. Apart from some momentary help in relaxing tension in the Far East, this meeting marked no sufficient change in Soviet temper, while at the Foreign Secretaries' Conference which followed in the autumn, Molotov's embattled negatives were again those of the Stalin era. Since then successive events, through Hungary to the predictable failure of the second summit, have unmistakably reaffirmed Soviet policies and purposes. There can be no excuse for failing to understand them now.

Khrushchev believes that the days of the free world, or, as he would describe them, of the capitalist imperialists, are numbered. He will do what he can to shorten their term, pressing existing advantages and probing for new ones in every continent. When the Kremlin now speaks of peaceful coexistence, we all understand that this means communizing the world without war. It does not exclude the use of other methods where non-forcible means do not bring success. To be fair, the aim of the international Communist movement is not concealed. It is to overthrow every existing authority, religion or economic system which stands in the way of bringing the world under Communist power and control. In pursuit of this objective all tactics are legitimate and all double talk is justified. Thus it is possible for Khrushchev to speak at the General Assembly of the United Nations about the aim of the democracies, meaning the totalitarian Communist

powers, to liberate all colonial peoples everywhere. He can do this with acclaim, despite the fact that the Soviet Government is itself in political default to the United Nations. Four years ago that Government refused to accept any one of the United Nations resolutions in respect of Hungary, or even to admit its Secretary-General or his representative onto Hungarian territory. In 1960 the Hungarian dictator, imposed by Soviet arms at the expense of thousands of Hungarian lives, goes to the United Nations in Khrushchev's train and is accepted as that unhappy country's representative. It only remains for Mr. Kadar to make a speech against colonialism.

As a result of these tactics, the Soviet leaders hope to persuade some easily deluded persons to forget inconvenient facts. Since 1940 the Western European powers have voluntarily agreed to the independence of 18 different countries with a population of more than 600,000,000 people. During the same period the Communist countries have brought under their rule 12 previously free countries with a population of more than 120,000,000. The Communist deed is even more harsh than these figures tell, because many of these nations had long lived their own free and independent lives, contributing their part in a tolerant civilization. Yet some of the so-called neutral governments can inveigh unblushingly against Western colonialism without reproof, while borrowing Western money without hesitation. In such conditions it is hardly surprising if newly independent nations are confused. There may be confusion in our thought too.

In the early days of October 1956, before Britain and France intervened, the American Secretary of State could see colonialism in the Anglo-French reaction to the seizure of an international canal, even though the plan to restore international control had been endorsed by the principal maritime nations, including the United States. In 1957 Indonesia seized Dutch shipping and held it without compensation. Today the United States finds itself accused of imperialism in Cuba and its extensive properties are grabbed. Robbery does not cease to be such because it is the goods of another nation that are seized in the name of nationalization or its equivalent. There is no present reason to suppose that these practices will lack future imitators elsewhere, yet we have no determined policies as to how to act towards them. For instance, the World Bank rightly declines to make advances to nations which are in financial default, yet no such condition is

imposed upon nations which are in political default on their international engagements.

In the last three years, the denial of passage through the Suez Canal, previously enforced illegally against Israeli shipping, has been extended to Israeli goods in transit in the ships of other countries; this despite the many pledges given by the highest world authorities in 1957. According to these, interference with Israeli shipping was not expected to continue, and, if it did, the United Nations would deal with it. Such optimistic expectations have not been fulfilled. The lesson is clear to read. If breaches of international conduct are condoned in one part of the world, they are sure to be repeated in another. To meet these occasions as they multiply and are enthusiastically cheered on by the Communist powers, agreed policies as to financial aid and many other matters will have to be devised by the victims.

All previous experience of militant dictatorships shows that they cannot be bribed from their courses. On the contrary, the more lavish this treatment, the more attractive do the smaller but hungry autocrats become to Communist dictatorships with ambitions for world dominion. But the firmer the resistance to unreasonable demands, the more respect will be won, and respect is a more powerful magnet than money.

The free nations must convince themselves that the Communist dictatorships are determined to seize every advantage to increase their power and press it remorselessly to the end. For this they will abuse any instruments to hand, including the United Nations. The Communist threat to the remaining liberties of the free world is absolute. Unless the West understands and accepts this, its policies will be ineffective and its survival in peril. But even the resources of the West are not inexhaustible and their percipient use is essential; economic appeasement is no more pardonable than its political counterpart.

A realization of this truth does not mean that we should refuse diplomatic contacts or political discussion with powers behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains, but it does mean the exercise of the utmost caution as to how and at what level these contacts should be made. Summit conferences should be the exception and not the rule. In certain circumstances they can be useful for general discussion, or to set a climate for negotiation. They are not suitable for detailed diplomacy or for the negotiation of specific problems. These are tasks for Foreign Secretaries or for the

normal methods of diplomacy. The fact that Moscow is impatient of such methods does not mean that we should forego them. There was nothing in the experience of the second summit to encourage a third without detailed preparation and indications of chances of agreement, of which there is no sign.

If the West is to conduct itself to the best advantage against the new offensives which we expect from the Communist powers, certain essential conditions must be observed. First, we have to abandon wishful thinking as an influence upon our action. It may be that in the course of time differences between the two most powerful Communist states, Russia and China, will grow and even lead at length to serious political conflict. No man can be sure that this will happen, still less foretell how long it will take. It would be fatal to freedom to base policies on such an expectation. Internal conditions in Russia, and the demand for a greater share of the improved conditions of life which the West now enjoys, may one day exert an influence upon the Kremlin's policies. None can tell when or how important that influence may prove to be. Once again it could be fatal to base any policies upon it.

The only premise upon which the free world can prudently found its decisions and form its practices is that the cold war will continue, that the purpose of the Communist rulers is to dominate the world, and that free men everywhere must organize their lives and effort to combat that determination, if the faith they cherish is to survive. Faced with this challenge, the free nations must unite and integrate more closely than ever before in war or peace. This will not be easy to do, for it requires a pooling of resources, economic as well as political, to an extent we have not yet begun to realize. We have to agree on plans and execute them jointly in every continent, by methods which we explain together, if not in the same words, at least in the same tone and with the same purpose.

It is not possible to limit our joint policies to Western Europe, but it is indispensable to stand firm there. If Communist power were to gain control of the human and industrial resources of this area, its domination of the world could hardly be resisted. But to be firm and united in Europe is not enough. Asia and Africa present greater complexities. Here it is necessary to speak plainly. The bogey of colonialism has done fearful damage to the Western alliance. It has created misunderstanding in the United

States of the policies of the Western allies, who were once great colonial powers. It has created anxiety among those allies when interests, which seem to them vital not only to themselves but to the free world, appear to be regarded as expendable by the United States.

This state of affairs can be brought to an end only by some sacrifice of opinion and authority on either side of the Atlantic. My own country, to take only one example, has for long been working on plans in Africa to bring the peoples there to self-government. France has done the same in the greater part of her former African territories. If the policies we have declared and the successive actions we have proposed to give effect to them are approved in the United States, there should be the closest unity in their execution in the remaining colonial territories. Neither you nor we must attempt to forestall the other, nor to get credit at the expense of the other, nor to belittle the sincerity of the other. Our policies and the help we give, financial and economic, should be related and complementary. All this is difficult to do, but it has to be done if Africa is to emerge into a new life and not be an example of the disunity of the West, creating opportunities for Communism. It has also to be done if the suspicions which today weaken the Western alliance are not to undermine it.

First the United States has to consider the policies which the former colonial nations are pursuing to further the self-government of their territories. If there is agreement upon these, Western unity would be helped by United States action to work out in company with the colonial nations the degree and timing of economic aid or direct financial assistance. Certainly this would have to be related to the activities of the World Bank, but there is room for both. For a former colony to make a success of its independence, education in government, science and industry is indispensable. But this education cannot be forced beyond a certain pace and can be paid for only if there is a taxable capacity in the country. This in turn means a coördinated and enlightened investment policy pursued over the years. Neither education nor income alone is enough, as the Congo has shown. Both are needed and neither can be skimmed or we shall have more Congos.

The joint effort of the United States and Britain has to be improved in another sphere. The demand is not extravagant if it is understood that we are engaged in a contest for the survival of

a free civilization, calling for as sagacious and complete a use of our resources as did the Second World War. At that time what we had to say to the world was attuned. It should be now. A confusion of voices weakens our message, which is still fundamentally the same, and the sum of its impact on uncommitted nations, if intelligently related, can be much more than the influence of our separate efforts. To realize this, some central coördination is necessary.

The mechanics called for to give effect to closer relationships are important, but they are not impossible to contrive. There should be some organization, probably in Washington, perhaps in Paris to be near NATO, led at a high level, which would make possible the integration of our political and economic policies and their propaganda content and methods, to a greater extent than is provided by the joint standing group in military affairs today. An example of what can be done is the Organization for European Economic Coöperation, a little advertised but most effective promoter of prosperity. Its authority, scope and opportunity will be enlarged beyond reckoning if, as we hope, the United States and Canada now become full members of its successor organization. A closely allied effort in the atomic world and in that which reaches beyond it into space should be made, comparable to the one created between the United States, Canada and ourselves in the war. I doubt whether military planners on either side of the Atlantic are content with the extent and quality of their coöperation; they should not be. The Western alliance needs a joint group to plan policy. That group should reappraise military policies and requirements now that there is a balance of nuclear power. NATO should be associated with this work and the findings should be made available to that body. No single power can go it alone as well as it can go it in company.

Most serious is the health of NATO, which is not robust. This is in no sense the fault of its politically experienced Secretary General, M. Spaak, or of its Commander, General Norstad; both men have been attentive and loyal. The fault lies in events outside their control. At the time of writing (November 1, 1960), there are four nuclear powers in the world; there may soon be more. The deterrent is possessed individually by two members of NATO and seems imminent in a third; it is not surprising that there should be a desire that the alliance as such should command some part of it also. With the probable extension of nuclear power

outside NATO, we must expect this desire to grow, and it is perfectly natural that it should. NATO needs body, and would have it if it could become a nuclear power. Admittedly, such a proposal presents difficulties, not least in the imperative necessity that may arise for prompt action, which a spread of authority could weaken fatally. Nor must the part played by conventional forces be reduced, or these allowed to dwindle to an extent which would make the organization unrealistic.

On the other hand, it should be possible to work out plans which would give to NATO membership as a whole the sense that it has direct control of some nuclear power. There are indisputable objections to handing over the command of formidable nuclear weapons widely to individual NATO members, but these difficulties could be met by integrated international nuclear units which might be recruited from different NATO countries. There may be other alternatives. The essential is to determine methods which would give the alliance renewed life and meaning. This is necessary if we are to deal effectively with a psychological weakness which is undermining confidence. No single member of NATO likes to feel that for his protection he is dependent upon the decision of one, two or maybe three powers to come to his aid at the critical hour, or it could be the critical minute. Mr. Henry A. Kissinger writes of the problems of peacemaking after the Napoleonic Wars, and gives a warning which is applicable today: "To be dependent on the continued goodwill of another sovereign state is demoralizing, because it is a confession of impotence, an invitation to the irresponsibility induced by the conviction that events cannot be affected by one's will."¹

I have no doubt that some of the feeling against the United States, which unhappily exists and is probably growing in a number of Western nations, is due to the sentiment that the survival of NATO members depends upon action principally by one member employing, or threatening to employ, weapons which most of them have not got. This idea may be unreasonable, but it is important to be rid of it. An alliance can only mature or decay. The essential is to give NATO the body it lacks today, and some revival of its authority is the only way.

Even more important than this better planning and better execution of our plans is the need for a revival of the faith of the free world. Our material resources are still greater than those of

¹ "A World Restored." Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1957, p. 316.

the Communist powers, and the ultimate result cannot be in doubt if our belief is as strong. This is not only a crisis of policies for the West. It is also a crisis of confidence in its own values. If we can reinforce this confidence, we shall still need the unity to express it. If we do not draw closer together quickly, we shall drift until we are apart suddenly. This is the choice. The alternative is more deadly than any we have known. To quote the words of Sydney Smith written in the summer of 1804: "A greater contest than that in which we are engaged, the world has never seen; for we are not fighting the battle of our country alone, but we are fighting to decide the question; whether there shall be any more freedom upon the earth."

The Meaning of Brest-Litovsk Today

By [John W. Wheeler-Bennett](#)

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TWENTY years ago -- on March 3, 1918 -- the first treaty of peace between belligerent parties in the World War was signed by the Central Powers and Russia at Brest-Litovsk. Few then appreciated the full significance of the event. At the moment it appeared to mark the complete victory of German arms in the East, and, for Russia, the greatest humiliation in her diplomatic and military history. But though these results were of grave importance in themselves, the more far-reaching effects of the treaty could not be guessed at. In retrospect, however, it is possible to say that, with the exception of the Treaty of Versailles, the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had consequences and results more important than any other peace settlement since the Congress of Vienna.

The long expected Revolution had broken out in Russia with the slogan of "Peace, Bread and Land," and the German High Command had added its contribution to chaos by allowing Lenin and his followers to return from Switzerland to Petrograd in the famous "sealed train." As a result, the political complexion of the Revolution changed rapidly from "parlor pink" to scarlet; the Liberal government of Prince Lvov gave place to the Socialist régime of Alexander Kerensky; and he in turn was ousted by the Bolsheviks at the Second Revolution of November 1917.

Capitalizing the deep-felt longing of the Russian masses for peace, Lenin at once declared a cessation of hostilities, and thus it came about that, after some vicissitudes and the murder of the Russian Chief of the General Staff, there sat down on December 20 at the Brest-Litovsk headquarters of Prince Leopold of Bavaria one of the strangest gatherings in the history of modern diplomacy. Fate had decreed that the representatives of the most revolutionary régime ever known should sit at the same table with the representatives of the most reactionary military caste among the then ruling classes, that a Bavarian nobleman, a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and a Prussian major-general should negotiate on equal terms with a group of Bolshevik leaders but lately returned from exile, and from whose clothes the reek of dungeons had barely been banished.

The two groups were as widely separated in ideology as in social standing. The representatives of the Central Powers spoke the ancient language of diplomacy. They thought in terms of strategic lines, of provinces ceded, of economic advantages to be gained. Not so the Bolsheviks. Their parlance was not one of frontiers and concessions; they were not concerned with geographical expressions. They aimed by propaganda upon war-weary European Socialism to achieve what they knew could not be achieved by arms, namely the World Revolution and the replacement of military imperialism by the dictatorship of the proletariat. They were prepared to abandon whole provinces to the victors if by so doing they could arouse the working classes of the Central Powers to a realization of the evils of military dictatorship. He is no Socialist, wrote Lenin in his open letter to the American workingmen in 1918, who will not sacrifice his fatherland for the triumph of the social revolution.

So fundamental a difference in approach necessarily resulted in equally different techniques in negotiation. For both parties the time factor was vital. For Germany it was essential to concentrate all available troops on the Western Front as soon as possible in order to ensure the success of the spring offensive against the Allies on which the High Command had staked their all. Hindenburg and Ludendorff therefore demanded a speedy conclusion of the negotiations. Russia was at the mercy of Germany, they urged; no further resistance was possible; and a victor's peace should crown a victor's war. Here at last was a chance to extend the frontiers of Germany to include the Russian provinces of Courland, Livonia and Estonia, where both the aristocracy of the Baltic Barons and the middle class were largely of German origin, and also Lithuania. There opened before their eyes, too, the opportunity to exploit the rich black soil of the Ukraine, whence grain could be exported to feed the army and population of Germany, brought near starvation by the Allied blockade. A dream of reducing the former Russian Empire to a series of partitioned states, each dependent upon Germany as economic and political protectorates, began to take hold upon the imagination of the General Staff. But in any case speed was the essence of the contract. If the Bolsheviks would not immediately accept the terms offered by the Central Powers, then the offensive must be resumed and peace dictated at Petrograd instead of Brest-Litovsk.

The Imperial German Government, and in particular the Foreign Secretary, Baron Richard von Kühlmann, opposed this policy because of its crudeness and because, with greater political sagacity, they did not share the illusions of the General Staff. Even at that date Kühlmann doubted the possibility of a complete victory in the field for German arms. A negotiated peace was the best that could be hoped. Like the generals, he was anxious to obtain as great territorial gains as possible in the East, but only in order to hold them as bargaining factors when negotiations for a general peace finally became a possibility. He hoped to avoid making territorial sacrifices in the West by displaying a readiness to surrender conquered territory in the East. Moreover, he was anxious to arrive at a settlement with the Russians peacefully in order to facilitate the course of future negotiations with the other Allied and Associated Powers.

While the German generals demanded a speedy show-down, the Bolsheviks desired exactly the opposite. The longer the negotiations were drawn out the greater the opportunity for propaganda. If the workers and peasants in the countries both of the Entente and the Central Powers were to realize fully what had happened in Russia and were to conceive a desire for emulation, a certain interval was necessary during which the intentions and policy of the new Soviet state might become known. To the vast annoyance of the German General Staff, the Bolsheviks were successful in imposing their policy of procrastination on the peace discussions. First Joffe and later Trotsky carried out delaying tactics with masterly skill, and for six weeks the conference was little more than a debating society. Trotsky discovered in Kühlmann an adversary who was his equal in dialectics, and the two indulged in what the irate Czernin later described as "spiritual wrestling matches." The German Secretary of State was trying to persuade his opponent to accept the fate of the occupied Baltic Provinces as already settled. Trotsky maintained with a wealth of verbiage that their so-called "self-expressed desire" for union with Germany was nothing but a veiled militarist annexation. As neither would abandon his viewpoint a complete deadlock ensued, and remained unbroken despite the protests of the representative of the Supreme Command, General Hoffmann, and the pleadings of the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Czernin, who was aware that the sands of life for the Dual Monarchy were running out. The Supreme Command wanted troops and Austria-Hungary needed bread: as long as Kühlmann and Trotsky remained locked in rhetorical combat, neither was forthcoming.

February 10, 1918, saw the end. On the previous day the Central Powers had signed a separate treaty of peace with the Ukraine, which had proclaimed its independence from Russia under a form of social democratic government. The agreement provided for the exportation to Germany and Austria-Hungary of a million tons of foodstuffs.

Outflanked from the south, and disappointed that the toiling masses in Europe had failed to respond to the glowing prospect of a proletarian paradise portrayed for them in an endless flood of propagandist word-pictures, the Russians were forced to abandon their policy of delay. The January strikes in Germany and Austria had momentarily encouraged Bolshevik hopes, but they had proved a false dawn. The Bolsheviks needed to be able to concentrate their full energies at home to consolidate the Revolution and to defend it against the counter-revolutionary forces of the Right and Center, now organizing in the north, south and east. New tactics were necessary. On February 10, then, Trotsky made his historic gesture of "No War -- No Peace." He refused to accept the German terms but declared the state of war at an end, and retired to Petrograd in the belief that the Central Powers were so anxious for peace that they would accept the position despite its anomalies.

This gesture, dramatic and original though it was, had merely the effect of handing the game to the Supreme Command. Against the vehement protests of Kühlmann and Czernin and the weaker opposition of Chancellor von Hertling, **Hindenburg and Ludendorff forced the Kaiser to agree to a resumption of hostilities. A rapid advance conducted by Hoffmann brought the German troops to within raiding distance of Petrograd. The remnant of the Russian army, already undermined in discipline and morale by subversive propaganda, broke "like thin clouds before a Biscay gale." There was virtually no resistance. If the Revolution was to be saved, a "breathing space" was essential. After a bitter internal struggle the Bolsheviks sued for peace. The German reply was an ultimatum setting forth conditions, for the discussion of which three days were allowed, while the treaty once signed must be ratified within two weeks.**

With no other course open to them, the Bolsheviks accepted the inevitable and on March 3, 1918, the Peace of Brest-Litovsk was signed. This treaty, together with the supplementary agreements of the following August, required Russia to renounce sovereignty in favor of Germany and Austria-Hungary over Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, Estonia and the Islands of the Moon Sound. To Turkey she had to cede Ardahan, Kars and Batum. In addition she was forced to recognize the independence of Finland, the Ukraine and Georgia, and to agree to reparation payments to the amount of 6,000,000,000 marks in goods, bonds and gold, on which she actually paid instalments totalling 120,000,000 gold rubles. Russia lost 34 percent of her population, 32 percent of her agricultural land, 85 percent of her beet sugar land, 54 percent of her industrial undertakings and 89 percent of her coal mines. European Russia was dismembered; she was cut off from the Black Sea and very nearly from the Baltic also.

Such was the result of negotiations originally undertaken on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnities, and the principle of self-determination."

II

The Peace of Brest-Litovsk was a milestone in modern history. For Russia and for Germany it obviously had results of incalculable importance; but for the Allied and Associated Powers its significance also was very great. The course of world history was changed on March 3, 1918.

For the Bolsheviks, peace on the Eastern front, even such a peace as that exacted by Germany, spelled salvation. By a gigantic sacrifice Lenin had purchased a "breathing spell" during which he might discipline his own followers, eliminate the remainder of

the revolutionary-bourgeois parties, and organize the defense of the Soviet Power against the attack of the Whites. With the shattering of their early hopes of a widespread revolt by the European proletariat, the Bolsheviks began concentrating their energies on the consolidation of the revolution in Russia. They could do this effectively only after hostilities had ceased to engage their attention. Lenin's stern adherence to the policy of national immolation caused wide dissent among his followers, but it gained that modicum of time necessary for the organization of the Red Army on the ruins of the Tsarist military machine. At the time his sacrifices to some appeared quixotic and unduly pusillanimous, but their wisdom was displayed when the victory of Kazan over the counter-revolutionaries bore witness to the growth of the new Soviet military formations. Without the "breathing spell" the Bolsheviks might -- probably would -- have perished at the hands of the advancing Germans, or of the White counter-revolutionary forces or by the intrigues of the Cadets and the Social-Revolutionaries of the Right and the Left. The world might then have never witnessed the vast experimentation of the victorious Soviet Power nor endured the attentions of the Third International. The potential "ifs" of the question do not cease there; they extend in an unending and roseate vista into limbo, for if there had been no Comintern, would not Fascism and National-Socialism have been deprived of their primary *raison d'être*? And, though the particular brand of extreme disgruntled nationalism which they represent might well have found some other outlet, it probably would not have manifested itself in the form of totalitarianism.

Thus Ludendorff was the involuntary savior of Bolshevism for Europe. By the same reasoning he was the godfather of that National Socialist movement which later he espoused; for if Adolf Hitler is the putative child of the Treaty of Versailles, he also is the offspring of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk.

For Germany both the issues and the results were more complicated than for Russia. Yet, in the case of Germany, the importance of Brest-Litovsk was very great. At the outset it appeared as if the Supreme Command was on the eve of the realization of its wildest dreams. The psychological effect on the jaded civilian population close to starvation was to refresh its war enthusiasm and to rekindle the *Siegeswille* (will to victory) which had burned low in the dark days of 1917. And indeed the material achievements of the Supreme Command were very alluring. Within their grasp were the occupied provinces of the Baltic, ready to be erected into semi-independent states subject to German domination. Before them stretched the fertile lands of the Ukraine, whence grain and meat would be forthcoming for hungry populations and horses for hard-pressed armies. The puppet government of the *Rada* was completely dependent upon German bayonets for its existence and could be -- and ultimately was -- overthrown by the pressing of a button to make way for an even more subservient successor. In addition, the treaties made by the Central Powers at Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest gave them access to the oil wells of Azerbaijan and Rumania.

The bulk of the fighting having been done by Germany, the lion's share of the spoils fell to her. Already she was the dominant party in the Quadruple Alliance; now her position was vastly strengthened, for she held nominal sway over the Ukraine and Rumania, while her influence extended through the Trans-Caucasus and to the further boundaries of the Don Basin. The way lay open for an intensification of the anti-British activities then being carried on in Persia and Afghanistan and for the institution of subversive propaganda in British India. But the ambitions of the Supreme Command vaulted still higher. They embraced not only a string of satellite states along the Russian border, but a Russia surrounded by German dependencies and which in time would itself become, for all practical purposes, a German colony.

But neither the possible nor the impossible ideas of the Supreme Command were destined to be fulfilled. The deliveries of food and grain from the Ukraine fell far short of the promised million tons, and of these the greater part went to Austria-Hungary. The same was true of the expected oil and grain to be procured from Rumania. Attempts to obtain foodstuffs by force and against the will of the population failed utterly. Brest-Litovsk proved a will-o'-the-wisp, luring the Supreme Command ever further and further in pursuit. And the Supreme Command was an all-too-willing follower. The paranoia of Ludendorff had now become Napoleonic. The First Quartermaster-General saw himself, bathed in the sunlight of victory, creating and distributing kingdoms as had the Emperor of the French after the Peace of Tilsit. He kept a garrison in the Baltic States, where grand-ducal governments were in process of creation; an army of occupation was maintained in Rumania; an expeditionary force was dispatched to Finland to crush a Bolshevik rising; another expedition penetrated to Baku; a third occupied the Crimean ports, and the German colonies in the Crimea were urged to appeal to the Kaiser for annexation. Ludendorff's conception of *Deutschtum* had become all-embracing. "German prestige demands that we should hold a strong protective hand, not only over German citizens, but over *all* Germans," he was writing at the moment.^[1] In addition, the problems of the Polish Regency demanded constant care and supervision, and in the Ukraine the maintenance of a succession of unpopular régimes proved more of a liability than an asset.

A victor's peace must be enforced, and in enforcing the terms of Brest-Litovsk the Supreme Command lost sight of the primary object with which it had begun the negotiations. It had sought to free its hands in the East in order to concentrate its reserves of man power in the West. Yet a million men immobilized in the East was the price of German aggrandizement, and half that number might well have turned the scale in the early stages of the German offensive in France. According to both French and British military authorities, only a few cavalry divisions were necessary in March and April 1918 to widen the gap in the Allied line so that a general retreat would have been inevitable. These were not available to the Supreme Command on the Western

Front; but at the moment three German cavalry divisions were held virtually idle in the Ukraine. Only in the late summer of 1918, when the German losses had attained fantastic figures, were troops transferred from the East. But they came a few at a time and too late. Ludendorff the Politician had defeated Ludendorff the General.

Nor was this all. The seed sown at Brest-Litovsk brought forth not only Dead Sea Apples but also poisoned fruits. Too late were the Germans to realize that they themselves were not immune to the virus which they had injected into the body politic of Russia. Through different channels the poison of Bolshevik propaganda flowed back into Germany. When Lenin had been sent across Europe in a "sealed coach," it had not been foreseen that a year later a Soviet Ambassador with full diplomatic privileges and immunities would be resident in Berlin, providing a rallying-point and source of monetary support for the revolutionary elements of extreme German Socialism.^[iii] Though it is very greatly to be doubted that Lenin received any financial assistance from the German Government or Supreme Command on his return to Russia, it is an established fact that members of the *Spartakusbund* and the Independent Socialist Party were provided with money from Joffe for revolutionary purposes, and when in October Joffe was finally expelled for his activities, it was too late.

Apart from this official contact of the Soviet Government with the revolutionary elements in Berlin, there were thousands of unofficial emissaries who brought with them the seed of subversive propaganda. German prisoners of war had been subjected to the full force of Bolshevik wiles. They had seen the Russian army crumble away under its influence, and on their return to Germany they brought the new political plague. Added to these were the troops on the Eastern front themselves, who, by the Armistice Agreement of Brest-Litovsk, had been permitted to fraternize with the Russians in No-Man's-Land and had received from them copies of the *Fackel* and other revolutionary material specially prepared for German consumption. Thus each division transferred from East to West brought infection with it. "We reached the point," admitted Hoffmann, "where we did not dare to transfer certain of our Eastern divisions to the West."

Not only did the Peace of Brest-Litovsk save the Revolution in Russia, it also materially contributed to the outbreak of the Revolution in Germany; and such "stabbing-in-the-back" as was done is attributable to the Supreme Command itself for they had supplied the original daggers.

III

To the Allied and Associated Powers the Peace of Brest-Litovsk was of almost as great significance as to the two contracting parties. The disclosure of the naked and brutal policy of annexation as practised by a victorious militarism proved a salutary deterrent to the activities of well-meaning but misguided pacifists in the countries of the Entente. These, discouraged by the dark days of 1917, had been preaching a "peace of understanding." The conduct of the German Supreme Command at Brest-Litovsk showed clearly what might be expected in the way of "understanding" from the adherents of the *Machtpolitik*, and the effect on the peoples of Great Britain, France, Italy and their smaller allies, was a stiffening of the ranks, a locking of shields, a determination to fight on to the end and to destroy the militarist power in Germany. It was this renewed spirit of resistance which enabled the civilian population to remain calm in the face of the early disasters which followed the launching of the great German offensive on March 21, 1918, and to retain their confidence throughout that fearful spring and early summer until the counter-offensive on July 18 wrested the initiative from the German armies for the last time.

In addition to this psychological effect, the Peace of Brest-Litovsk had other unforeseen repercussions in the Allied camp. It was responsible for the arrival of Japanese troops for the third time in history upon the mainland of Asia. Terrified by the prospect of German penetration into Asiatic Russia, the British and French Governments, in direct opposition to the views of their advisers in Moscow and despite very great reluctance on the part of the United States, countenanced the dispatch to Siberia of an inter-Allied expeditionary force in which the Japanese contingent was much the largest numerically. Though the Allied and American troops were withdrawn soon after the conclusion of peace with Germany, the Japanese divisions were not evacuated until after the Washington Conference of 1922, and this period of occupation undoubtedly whetted the appetite of Nippon for further territorial acquisition in Asia.

In the United States the effect of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was even more apparent. During the first year of American participation in the war there had seemed to the Allies a certain lukewarmness in President Wilson's pursuit of his policies. "War upon German imperialism, peace with German liberalism" -- that had been the essence of his speeches since April 1917. The emphasis had been laid on the profit which the liberal elements in Germany could acquire by divorcing themselves from the domination of the Supreme Command and accepting the terms which the President would persuade the Allies to offer. It was largely in this spirit that Mr. Wilson had enunciated his Fourteen Points. In formulating that program he had hoped on the one hand to encourage the Russians to refrain from making a separate peace, and, on the other, to divide the German people from their rulers.

The unsatisfactory reply of the German Government to the Fourteen Points, followed by the barefaced brutality of the Brest-Litovsk terms and their ratification by the Reichstag almost without protest, convinced the President that there was but one Germany to be conquered, the Germany of the Supreme Command, and that the soundest political strategy was to reiterate again and again the impossibility of peace with the kind of government that had imposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk.

This change in policy, a change so vital that to it may be attributed in large measure the final and speedy victory of the Allied cause, was made public in President Wilson's speech at Baltimore on April 16, 1918, in which he frankly admitted his recent change of heart and new resoluteness of purpose: ". . . I am ready . . .," he declared, "to discuss a fair and just and honest peace at any time that it is sincerely purposed -- a peace in which the strong and the weak shall fare alike. But the answer, when I proposed such a peace, came from the German commanders in Russia, and I cannot mistake the meaning of the answer. I accept the challenge. . . . Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether Justice and Peace shall reign in the affairs of men. . . . There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: Force, Force to the utmost, Force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant Force which shall make Right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."^[iii]

This amounted to no less than a pledge of the last man and gun and dollar in America to the Allied cause. Unanimity between the United States and the nations of the Entente had at last been achieved and victory was assured, for once the American manpower was made available, there could be no doubt of the outcome. The artificer of this compact was Ludendorff and the background of its forging was Brest-Litovsk. The German Supreme Command by its policy of aggrandizement had contributed to the Allied cause that final and essential degree of coöperation and oneness of purpose necessary for victory.

Indeed they did more, for they had forever deprived themselves of the ability to use the Fourteen Points as a basis of negotiation. When the idea was suggested by Germany in the first Armistice Note of October 4, it was met with a blank refusal on the part of the Allies. ". . . the pronouncements of President Wilson were a statement of attitude made before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty," ran an official British memorandum of that time. ". . . They cannot, therefore, be understood as a full recitation of the conditions of peace."^[iv] In the interpretation of the Fourteen Points which occurred during the pre-Armistice negotiations, it was made clear that no vestige of Germany's conquests in the East could be retained by her. "In any case the treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest must be cancelled as palpably fraudulent," stated the official commentary prepared by Colonel House's commission. "Provision must be made for the withdrawal of all German troops in Russia."^[v] And it was in accordance with this view that the treaties were abrogated in the Armistice Agreement of November 11, and formally annulled by the Treaty of Versailles.^[vi]

IV

Such were the more immediate results of Brest-Litovsk and such was its tremendously important influence on contemporary events. But its political implications are even more significant today, for they have a prominent place in the present ideological trends both in Russia and in Germany.

Though it is almost impossible to extract any clear and undisputed facts from the mystery which surrounds the Moscow treason trials of 1936 and 1937, it does seem possible to detect in the minds and activities of the accused, particularly in the cases of Radek, Sokolnikov and Piatakov, a tendency to return to the tactics of what may be called "primitive Leninism" and to the psychology of the Brest-Litovsk period. The Old Bolsheviks, believing that the principles of Lenin and the ideals of the November Revolution had been betrayed by Stalin, and convinced that the U.S.S.R. could not withstand an attack by both Germany and Japan, appear to have reverted to the pre-revolutionary strategy of sabotage and subversion in order to overthrow the Stalinist régime and to the Leninist policy of defeatism and national immolation in order to placate for the moment the aggressive policies of the two imperialist and Fascist Powers. The crimes of which they were accused, and to which they pleaded guilty, were none other than those very principles of destruction and disintegration on which Lenin based his fight against the Liberal Government of Prince Lvov and the Socialist régime of Kerensky; while the policy of defeatism was exactly that followed by him in regard to Brest-Litovsk.

This latter doctrine had been established by Lenin again and again. "It is impossible to attain this end [the revolution] without wishing for the defeat of one's own Government and without working for such a defeat," he wrote in "Against the Current." Nor was he content merely to preach the doctrine without practice. Against the bitter opposition of the Left Communists, particularly Bukharin and Radek within his own Party, he pursued this same policy in regard to Brest-Litovsk.

What, then, would be more natural than for the Old Bolsheviks to fall back on these original principles? Both Radek and Bukharin had publicly declared that in following the doctrine of defeatism Lenin had been right and they wrong. Is it not possible that the psychology of Brest-Litovsk reasserted itself and that in negotiating with Germany and Japan for the cession of the Ukraine and the Maritime Province they were reverting to the principle of the "breathing spell" in order to safeguard themselves from external aggression while setting about the destruction of the Stalin régime which they regarded as having

betrayed the Revolution? Presumably it was hoped to regain all territory lost at some later date, either by the extension of the world revolution or by some revolutionary war. The wisdom of such a course is, of course, clearly questionable; but that it was contemplated appears to be the only reasonable clue to the solution of the Moscow mystery.

This consideration, however, is of only academic interest compared with the very practical application of the principles of Brest-Litovsk obtaining in Germany since the advent to power of the National Socialist régime. The Weimar Republic, supported by the majority opinion on the German General Staff represented by General von Seeckt, sought to reach a *rapprochement* with the Soviet Union, and largely succeeded in doing so by the Treaty of Rapallo, the German-Russian Non-Aggression Treaty, and the Military Agreement of April 3, 1922. There remained, however, a minority school of thought which followed in the Hoffmann tradition, regarding Bolshevism as the root of all evil and dreaming of the ultimate realization of those far-reaching plans for German expansion in Eastern Europe which so sadly eluded them after Brest-Litovsk.

Added to this are the very definite views which Adolf Hitler himself holds regarding the Treaty and the legend about it which the National Socialist Party has sedulously fostered, pointing the way to what is described as an attainable ideal. For the ideology which actuated the dictation of the treaty has not been replaced by any other set of ideas and is now accepted by a large part of the German people. The present German generation, the generation of Nazi Germany, regards the principles of Brest-Litovsk and the motives lying behind it as an actual political program.^[vii] None has been more eloquent in this view than the *Führer* himself, in his comparison of the Treaty with the Peace of Versailles. "I placed the two Treaties side by side, compared them point by point, showed the positively boundless humanity of the one in contrast to the inhuman cruelty of the other," he wrote in "Mein Kampf." "In those days I spoke on this subject before audiences of 2,000 at which I was often exposed to the gaze of 3,600 hostile eyes. And three hours later I had before me a surging mass filled with righteous indignation and boundless wrath."^[viii] With this as a pointer it is not surprising to find Hitler stating somewhat later in his work: "We [the National Socialists] stop the perpetual German migration towards the South and West of Europe and fix our gaze on the land in the East. . . . When we talk of new lands in Europe, we are bound to think first of Russia and her border states."^[ix] And again, "We must not forget that the international Jew, who continues to dominate over Russia, does not regard Germany as an ally, but as a state destined to undergo a similar fate. The menace which Russia suffered under is one which perpetually hangs over Germany; Germany is the next great objective of Bolshevism."^[x]

Here, then, is combined in one political philosophy the doctrines of prewar Pan-Germanism, all-pervading hatred of the Jew and the ideological opposition to Bolshevism; and the only means by which this philosophy may be given practical application is through a reversion to the German psychology of Brest-Litovsk. It is not unimportant that political writers of 1917 talked as freely of German equality (*Gleichberechtigung*) as do the Nazi pundits today, but they were even more frank in their interpretation of it. "The issue between us and England constitutes not so much isolated problems, as the conflict between England's world domination hitherto and our endeavor to obtain *Gleichberechtigung* in the world. That is why the war is being waged." So wrote Professor Hettner in his book, "Der deutsche Friede und die deutsche Zukunft," and years later Hitler epitomized this statement in a single sentence: "Germany will be a World Power or nothing at all." He admits that England will not tolerate Germany as a World Power, but says that this is not for the moment an urgent question, for Germany is first concerned with uniting the German race and fighting for territory in Europe.^[xi]

Reverting to the Ludendorff thesis that "German prestige demands that we should hold a strong protecting hand, not only over German citizens, but over *all* Germans," Hitler aims first at the realization of a *Deutschtum* stretching from Jutland to the Brenner and from Strassburg to Riga, and later at securing for Germany enough territory to accommodate 200,000,000 Germans. This expansion, according to the views expressed in "Mein Kampf," undisputed Bible of the Third Reich, is to take place in the East and Southeast of Europe, in those territories to which German colonization during the Middle Ages was directed -- "We begin again where we left off six centuries ago."

Considered in this light, the steps taken by Nazi Germany in Austria and its attitude toward Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Poland, Hungary and Rumania assume a new significance. The expansion of Germany conceived today in these terms parallels the political system which the Pan-Germans and the Supreme Command planned during the World War: that is to say, German political hegemony over all remotely Germanic states and a meditated acquisition of Russian territory. The skeleton structure of that system was set up under the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest. The methods differ in each case. First Austria is absorbed into the Reich, and with it the control of the Danube passes to Germany. Then Czechoslovakia is subjected to threats, terrorism and propaganda calculated to stimulate "spontaneous" internal revolt which may lead to the liberation of the Sudeten Germans. Poland and the Baltic States, as in the days of Brest-Litovsk, are offered compromises and the expectation of security -- though it may be recalled that in "Mein Kampf" the Poles are not only dismissed as "inferior," but Polish children are classed on the same low level as Jews, Negroes and Asiatics. Towards Hungary, Yugoslavia and Rumania a policy of blandishment and flattery is adopted in the hope of winning away the first from Italian and the two latter from French influence.

So the *Drang nach Süd-Osten* is well under way again.^[xii] Simultaneously the first steps are being taken to direct German political thought towards the advantages of expansion into Russia. German "colonization" in Russia had been proposed by Dr.

Schacht at a conference in Rome in November 1932, even before the advent of Hitler to power. The subject was revived in Herr Hugenberg's famous memorandum to the World Economic Conference in June 1933. The *Führer* himself made plain reference to it during his speeches against Communism at the Nürnberg *Parteifest* of 1936: "If the Urals with their incalculable wealth of raw materials, the rich forests of Siberia, and the unending cornfields of the Ukraine lay within Germany, under National Socialist leadership the country would swim in plenty."^[xiii] "We would produce, and every single German would have enough to live on," he told representatives of the *Arbeitsfront* on September 12. No purer example of Brest-Litovsk psychology could be required than this incitement to plunder. The speech might as well have been inspired by the Press Department of the Great General Staff in the early weeks of 1918.

The nearing of the completion of German rearmament brings to a close the first stage of the Nazi development towards *Gleichberechtigung*. The second, which overlaps the first, has already begun, and Germany is well on the way to the establishment of her desired hegemony. With each step forward the burden of the psychology of Brest-Litovsk weighs heavier upon the German mentality and makes more inevitable the ultimate effort to fulfil her destiny. Europe has been treated to one display of the effects of this psychosis, and should Germany succeed in reestablishing the situation which existed for a brief moment after Brest-Litovsk, the results would be even more threatening than they were then. For an industrialized Russia exploited by the organizing genius of Germany conjures up a vision which no Western European can contemplate with equanimity. But in 1918 the will-o'-the-wisp of ambition lured Germany into a slough of dilemmas from which she could not extricate herself. The rest of Europe remembers what Herr Hitler may have forgotten, that disaster followed in the train of glory.

[i] Erich Ludendorff, "The General Staff and Its Problems." New York: Dutton, 1920, v. 2, p. 562.

[ii] Under Article 2 of the Treaty the Bolsheviks had undertaken to refrain from propaganda and subversive activities in the countries of the Central Powers and in the occupied territories. Joffe, however, made a public declaration to the effect that "The Soviet Government as a body, and its accredited representatives in Berlin, have never concealed the fact that they are not going to observe this agreement and have no intention of so doing in the future."

[iii] "Intimate Papers of Colonel House." Boston: Houghton, 1928, v. 3, p. 427.

[iv] "War Memoirs of David Lloyd George." Boston: Little, Brown, 1937, v. 6, p. 256.

[v] House Papers. v. 4, p. 196.

[vi] It was this attitude of the Allied and Associated Powers towards the dictated Peace of Brest-Litovsk which strongly influenced the German Social Democrats in finally accepting the dictated Peace of Versailles. They were persuaded that reaction against the harshness of the peace terms would inevitably occur in the Allied countries and that this would result in a revision of the Treaty.

[vii] "The Lessons of Brest-Litovsk," by "Pragmaticus." *Slavonic and East European Review*, January 1937, p. 328-343.

[viii] Adolf Hitler: "Mein Kampf," v. 1, p. 523-525.

[ix] *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 742.

[x] *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 750-751.

[xi] *Ibid.*, v. 2, p. 699.

[xii] For good accounts of this movement see "Hitler's Drive to the East," by F. Elwyn Jones. New York: Dutton, 1937; and "Hitler Pushes South-east," by Dr. Gerhard Schacher. 1937.

[xiii] As reported in the British press of September 14-15, this sentence was variously translated, as follows: "If he could command" (*The Times*), "If we had at our disposal" (*Daily Telegraph*), "If we had" (*Manchester Guardian*). In the official text of the speech, published in the German press on September 14, it was noted that the sentence had been modified and issued in the form printed above.